HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Ramsey Clark Corrupts the Law

By GEN. THOMAS A. LANE

The ineptitude of Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark surely marks him as the least fit official ever to sit in a presidential Cabinet. Beside his maladministration, the betrayal of the public trust by Secretary of Interior Albert B. Fall of the Harding Cabinet was a mere peccadillo.

In the Steve Nelson case, the Supreme Court decided that the control of internal subversion is a federal responsibility. It denied the states (and the counties and the cities) authority to legislate against internal subversion or to enforce statutes previously enacted. Thus, the entire responsibility for protecting our society against the aggressive attacks of the Communist class warfare rests squarely upon the attorney general of the United States. It is not the responsibility of any governor nor of any mayor to infiltrate, expose and destroy the many organizations which are today prosecuting the Communist class warfare.

From all our big cities we receive news reports of revolutionary action movements, some spawned by renegade Robert Williams and others affecting separate identities, manufacturing Molotov cocktails, collecting weapons and ammunition, preparing avowedly for the destruction of our democratic society. When newspaper reporters have easy access to such information, we cannot believe that the FBI has failed to inform the attorney general of it.

On the night of July 23, one of these action groups deliberately assassinated three policemen who were performing a routine duty of picking up an abandoned vehicle on Cleveland's East Side. There was no provocation, no confrontation. The revolutionary council had decided to wage the urban warfare it had long promised.

Ramsey Clark was quick to proclaim that the Cleveland rebellion involved no conspiracy—that it was the work of a small group of militants. Was he saying in these words that the suppression of these subversive groups is a local—not a federal—responsibility? Was he shirking his responsibility for the riot and arson in our big cities?

At right is a scene in a black neighborhood of Cleveland in the wake of rioting which followed the assassination of three white policemen by black nationalist militants. But, despite massive evidence to the contrary, Attorney General Ramsey Clark claimed there was no conspiracy involved.

It is a national scandal that organizations which openly avow their purpose to destroy our society by the use of force are given free rein to preach rebellion, to subvert youth, to organize terror squads and to assemble munitions for their offensives. The attorney general, who should be prosecuting these criminals, is pretending they are not there. He is allowing them to wage open warfare against the state and local governments which had been effectively disarmed by the Supreme Court.

It is inconceivable that the attorney general is uninformed about these matters. The only rational explanation of his behavior is that he refuses to prosecute black militants for fear of alienating the Negro vote. In this course, he administers his office not for the nation but for the political advantage of the President.

Some years ago, Andrei Gromyko, during a transatlantic crossing, chided Ambassador Henry Taylor about American concepts of law as an objective force in human affairs. He said that the Soviet Union frankly regards law as a tool for governing people. Law cannot have any significance in conflict with the will of government. Mr. Gromyko thought this was true in the United States and that the concept of objective law which could operate against the government was a political deception practiced on the American people.

In his service as attorney general, Ramsey Clark has gone far to substantiate the charge of Andrei Gromyko that our laws are used to serve the regime in power. He has used the law to harass opponents of the Johnson Administration and to favor its supporters. He has made a mockery of traditional American concepts of law.

It would be hard to find an act more subversive of our civilization than this corruption of the law. Nor can we extenuate the Clark performance because he does the will of the President. There are things which a conscientious citizen must refuse to do for any President.

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NEWSPAPER

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HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Capital Briefs

● The August issue of the **Ripon Forum**, house organ of the liberal Republican Ripon Society, asserts the GOP must become the party of "New Politics" and receive a facial uplifting. Contributing a rousing article on the "new image" the Republicans must project: Alf Landon, whose razzle-dazzle campaign as the GOP presidential nominee in 1936 won him all of Maine and Vermont.

● A source close to Sen. **Everett Dirksen** of Illinois says that the Senate Republican leader's mail is running 5 to 1 against his favorable stand on the appointment of Abe Fortas as chief justice of the United States.

● Republican leaders say their headcount reveals that at least 31 senators would vote against confirming **Abe Fortas** for the chief justice post, while 44—far more than necessary—would vote against any move to halt an anti-Fortas filibuster.

● While the Gallup Poll reveals that the majority of the American people don't give very high marks to the **Supreme Court**, Mrs. Charlene Mitchell recently told a reporter for the Miami News that she views the tribunal with esteem, calling it "a very good court, at the moment." Mrs. Mitchell, by the way, is the Communist party's candidate for President.

● LBJ is demanding a **$1-million advance** from publishers interested in his memoirs. Acting as Johnson's literary agent is Arthur B. Krim, a wealthy New York lawyer and former finance chairman of the Democratic National Committee. The memoirs will be based in large part on data now being compiled at taxpayer expense by each government agency. Reportedly interested in the Johnson volume: Doubleday, Harper and Row, and McGraw-Hill.

● Insiders report that tremendous pressure is being put on Hubert Humphrey by the White House to select Texas Gov. **John Connally** as his vice-presidential running mate.

● Next January the presidential **inauguration ceremonies** will be televised for the first time in color, and during House debate on the bill appropriating the extra funds necessary to accommodate the color broadcasting equipment, the "fiscal conscience" of the House, conservative Rep. H. R. Gross (R.-Iowa), asked the pertinent question: "Is there any way, at the same time the inaugural [ceremonies are] being carried out, that we can somehow picture the federal debt in living color?" If this could be done, Gross observed, the picture of the debt "should be in red."

● In the past fiscal year, it was announced last week, the federal government has plunged into the red by the stunning total of **$25.4 billion**, almost three times the deficit for fiscal 1967 and the biggest figure for any year since World War II.

● A survey conducted by liberal columnists Evans and Novak reveals that third-party candidate **George Wallace** is far more popular in the urban areas of the Northeast than public opinion polls would indicate. Unlike other observers who predict that Wallace will siphon off mainly Republican votes in the fall, Evans and Novak point out that Wallace is strongest among lower middle-income whites who normally vote Democratic.

● The **Urban League** continues to grow more militant. Sterling Tucker, a member of the Black United Front with racist-revolutionary Stokely Carmichael, has been named to head up the League's $2-million "New Thrust" program in the ghettos. Tucker has also said he fundamentally supports the Black United Front's statement that the killing of a "honky cop" by a Negro suspect was "justifiable homicide," even though no evidence has been produced that the policeman committed any act that would have justified his being shot.

● The Office of Economic Opportunity, responsible for the administration of the **"War on Poverty,"** has cut off funds to a special program in Chicago involving two Negro gangs, the Blackstone Rangers and the Devil's Disciples. The program sponsored by the Woodlawn Organization, a neighborhood group, had been the subject of a Senate investigation into alleged use of federal funds to finance criminal activities.

● In the topsy-turvey world of the "Black Power" movement, you have to scramble to stay on top. **Adam Clayton Powell**, Democrat of Harlem and Bimini, has always been considered, by himself and others, to be pretty much a militant on racial matters. Turns out, however, that in the latest interpretation of "militant," Adam doesn't match up and he will be opposed in his attempt to regain his House seat this year by the super-militant Black Panthers. "Adam's not militant enough," explains Panther "minister of information" Eldridge Cleaver; he "represents only the black middle class, not the masses." Sometime, somewhere, some future black militant will undoubtedly say the same thing of Mr. Cleaver.

● Officials of the New Left **Peace and Freedom party** have indicated that they will have candidates on the November ballot in at least 19 states, including California, New York and Pennsylvania. Mentioned as possible party presidential candidates have been comedian Dick Gregory, Dr. Benjamin Spock, and Eldrige Cleaver, minister of information for the militant Black Panthers.

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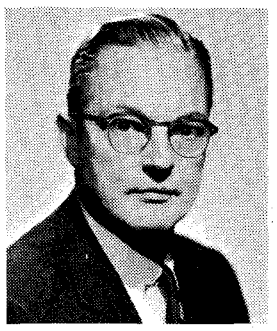
Upward Bound's Revolutionaries

The Administration's much vaunted anti-poverty program may still turn out to be one of the major issues in the 1968 campaign. For far from aiding the poor and the hungry, this program has fostered community disorders nationwide and provoked the bombings, killings and burnings that have convulsed and saddened the country.

Fred (Ahmed) Evans, the bearded black nationalist who has been charged in the recent murder of three Cleveland policemen, participated in a city anti-poverty program patterned after OEO programs around the country. While OEO officials deny supporting it, Rep. William E. Minshall (R.-Ohio) has run across evidence that Evans and fellow snipers in the Cleveland disorders may well have been beneficiaries of federal anti-poverty funds.



MINSHALL

Liberal Democrat Edith Green (Ore.), chairman of the House Education subcommittee, has been leading an attack on "Upward Bound," whose purpose is to help the "disadvantaged" student continue secondary and post-secondary education.

Pointing to the Upward Bound projects in her home state, Mrs. Green accused instructors in the program of preaching "hate," distributing pro-Ho Chi Minh literature and "financing with federal tax dollars the activities of revolutionaries."

The co-director of the Upward Bound program in Portland, said Mrs. Green, admitted to her that he had publicly proclaimed he wanted to "take every goddam cent, rotten cent" from Upward Bound "to support revolution." "I think there is room for white revolutionaries . . . and revolution means to me only one thing. That is to get in and blow it up."

Individuals connected with Upward Bound in Portland, Mrs. Green asserted, also distributed instruc-

tions on how to construct a Molotov cocktail and incendiary time bombs. Part of these instructions read:

"In an actual attack on a building, it might be wise to first smash with a brick a window of the room to be hit, then to throw a very fragile bottle through the resulting hole to insure that the bottle shatters inside the building. As soon as the firebomb explodes inside the building, several other fragile bottles of gasoline and oil can be quickly tossed in to feed the flames and to make the fire hotter, thus insuring major damage. . . .

"We must do this again and again until it begins to really hurt Selective Service or until the government is forced to station guards on 24-hour duty around all draft board offices and booths."

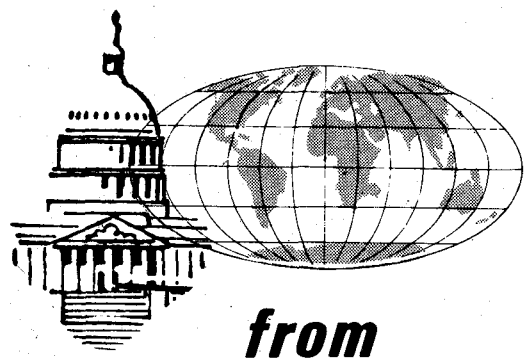
Upward Bound workers at the State Prison also distributed posters which read: "Uncle Sam Wants You, Nigger. Become a member of the world's highest paid black mercenary army. . . . Support White Power—travel to Viet Nam. . . . Receive valuable training in the skills of killing off other oppressed people! (Die Nigger Die—you can't die fast enough in the ghettos.)"

Aside from financing revolution, Mrs. Green insisted the federal government was also financing boondoggles. Fifty-seven enrollees from Upward Bound, she noted, are spending the summer luxuriating in Canada, Chile, Costa Rica, Mexico, Panama, Peru and Brazil.

Meanwhile, Meir Kahane, an editor of the *Jewish Press* in New York City, has uncovered another OEO scandal. At 2727 Mermaid Ave., in the Coney Island section of Brooklyn, an area recently rocked by rioting, there stands a storefront with a large sign, "Coney Island Community Family Center."

A subsequent check, says Kahane, revealed that this agency claimed to have moved from that address and had not removed its sign. Instead, these premises were now occupied by the Coney Island Neighborhood Program, an Office of Economic Opportunity

THIS WEEK'S NEWS



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Inside Washington

funded project. Acting on information received, Kahane relates, "I went down with another *Jewish Press* editorial staff member, Mr. Arnold Fine, and found the following things:

"Inside the store, in the most prominent places available, were huge photos of Ho Chi Minh, North Viet Nam dictator; H. Rap Brown, incendiary SNCC racist leader, and the late Malcolm X, former Muslim racist. . . .

"Mr. Fine and myself began taking notes when we were surrounded by six blacks, two of whom were wearing buttons with the green, red and black colors of the black nationalist movement.

"We were shouted at and warned to leave. When I stated my purpose and showed my press card, I was confronted by a man who waved a card bearing the clear notation of the office of the mayor of New York.

"This man made no attempt to prevent the pushing and shoving that followed. The crowd began to get larger and when I again stated that I had come down to find out about the photographs, I was told:

" 'They're our heroes.'

"During this whole period of time, not a policeman was to be seen despite the fact that the block had been the heart of the riots the previous three nights and the mayor was in the area. This absence of police undoubtedly supports the widely felt belief that the mayor had told them to 'cool it.'

"I might also add that the previous night had seen a Molotov cocktail thrown into the *Jewish Press* by a Negro man who had, allegedly, attempted to do the same thing on two other occasions. There were four persons arrested for this. . . .

"The incredible takeover by Black Nazis and leftists of a New York City poverty program and the virtual unimpeded looting that went on in the same area may be laid directly to the permissive attitude of John Lindsay and his ideological partners."

Thus, the belief that the anti-poverty program will be very much a conservative issue in 1968.

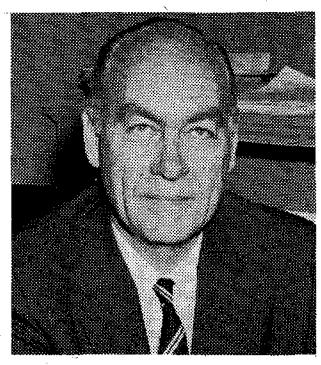
Politics' Witch Doctors

The week before the Republican convention was officially to open in Miami Beach, the focus of attention was not on issues or candidates, but on a campaign element that is supposedly incidental—the public opinion polls. And when the week was over, one professional politician summed up the general consensus when he said "I don't know which candidate won, but the polling profession in this country has got a real black eye."

True, polls have long played a significant role in American politics, and this year perhaps more prominently than before, but last week opinion polls—and the men who conduct them—took on an entirely new status (see page 5 for more on the polls last week). It began with a Gallup Poll showing Richard Nixon with surprising strength against Democratic contenders, and Nelson Rockefeller doing much less well; two days later a Lou Harris poll showed almost the exact opposite, Rocky leading the Democrats, Nixon trailing.

When the contradictory Harris Poll was released, the pollsters involved attempted to explain away the mystery by saying public opinion was fluctuating wildly this year. George Gallup told wondering newsmen his poll "caught a true movement," but added the strange qualifier that "I wouldn't dispute [Harris' findings] at all." Thus began the pollsters' credibility gap.

Not content to let their figures stand and have readers deduce what they wished from the contradictions, Harris and Gallup decided to consult each other via telephone. This done, the two released a statement declaring that their figures, together with those of Archibald Crossley, a pollster in the pay of Gov. Rockefeller whose recent findings have his boss way in front, actually "are not as dissimilar as they might appear to the public at first glance."



GALLUP

HARRIS

Indeed, despite the totally contradictory findings, Gallup and Harris, presumably consulting a ouiji, decided all the polling figures "firmly" showed that Rockefeller has now "moved to an open lead over both possible Democratic opponents."

To buttress this astounding conclusion, Harris and Gallup suddenly declared that a *sequence* of polls conducted by Harris, Gallup and Crossley divulged Rocky's magical lead. No one, of course, explained why use of the "poll sequence" from various pollsters had not been used before. Nor did Gallup ever explain why, if this were true, he had claimed that his own poll in late July had "caught a true movement" for Nixon, not Rockefeller.

But Harris and Gallup had even more rabbits to pull out of their hats. They then concocted an entirely new poll, based on nothing more than their own personal suppositions. What this amounted to was taking the Harris, Gallup and Crossley polls, removing one percentage point from the leading candidate and adding a point to his closest poll rival. This bit of legerdemain supposedly showed the polls were more in line with each other than previously revealed. The pollsters then explained that "each of the polls" as originally published "could have resulted in the outcome reflected" in the concocted poll "rather than as they were published." Thus ended this strange bit of witchcraft.

The whole fiasco, of course, has tended to cast doubt on the reliability of Messers. Gallup, Crossley and Harris. Public opinion polls are theoretically based on scientific, carefully worked-out methods of sampling voter attitudes. But here come Gallup and Harris, looking like nothing more than a couple of pitch men at a carnival, instantly juggling—via telephone yet—"scientific" figures and attempting to pawn off on the public a highly dubious conclusion.

The episode so angered GOP delegates that Washington *Post* columnist David Broder was able to report from Miami Beach that "there could easily be formed in this city a committee for a pre-convention poll-ban treaty."

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Gross Blocks Pension Grab

Rep. H. R. Gross' (R.-Iowa) outburst against a Democratic-sponsored pension grab for lawmakers may have stopped the move dead in its tracks.

As reported in these pages July 13, the Iowa solon had set his sights on a bill that would have jumped the retirement pensions of lawmakers by a whopping 33-1/3 per cent. Under this proposal (HR 16903), for example, a member who had served in the House for 12 terms would have had his annual pension raised from the "poverty line" of $17,100 to $24,000.

GROSS

To ensure themselves a hefty windfall without raising the blood pressure of the voters, the proponents of this measure—including chief sponsor Rep. Wayne Hays (D.-Ohio)—had engaged in a host of deceitful practices. The actual title of the bill, for example, refers to Foreign Service retirement benefits, but doesn't carry a word about gigantic congressional pension hikes. The increased pay for lawmakers is deviously put under the heading, "other purposes."

Since the enactment of the Congressional Retirement laws, every amendment to those laws has been considered by and approved by the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee. Yet the supporters of the measure managed to place the proposed pension hike before the House Foreign Affairs Committee. The bill then zipped through the Foreign Affairs panel and was reported out of the Rules Committee with only two dissenting votes.

Because Gross and other members began to raise a rumpus, however, the House leadership decided to put off action on the bill before the political conventions. Even if the House acts on it later, politicos predict the pension hike can be killed. Few House members, it is believed, would be willing to pad their own pockets with the taxpayers' dollars so near to the election.

Foreign Aid Rollcall

Following is the 43-to-29 rollcall vote by which the Senate on July 30 accepted the Dominick amendment to the foreign aid authorization which would bar economic assistance to any Communist nation pending the release of the USS *Pueblo*.

FOR THE AMENDMENT: 43

DEMOCRATS (25): Bayh, Byrd (Va.), Byrd (W. Va.), Cannon, Church, Dodd, Eastland, Ellender, Ervin, Hartke, Hill, Hollings, Jordan (N.C.), Long (La.), Magnuson, McClellan, McIntyre, Monroney, Pastore, Randolph, Ribicoff, Russell, Stennis, Symington and Talmadge.

REPUBLICANS (18): Allott, Baker, Bennett, Cotton, Curtis, Dominick, Fannin, Fong, Griffin, Jordan (Idaho), Miller, Mundt, Murphy, Pearson, Smith, Thurmond, Williams (Del.) and Young (N.D.).

AGAINST THE AMENDMENT: 29

DEMOCRATS (22): Anderson, Burdick, Clark, Harris, Holland, Inouye, Jackson, Mansfield, McGee, Metcalf, Mondale, Morse, Moss, Muskie, Nelson, Pell, Proxmire, Sparkman, Spong, Williams (N.J.), Yarborough and Young (Ohio).

REPUBLICANS (7): Aiken, Boggs, Brooke, Case, Hatfield, Kuchel and Prouty.

NOT VOTING: 27

Poff's Anti-Crime Measure

In passing a controversial bill to outlaw most out-of-state purchases of rifles and shotguns, the House last week also overwhelmingly adopted an amendment that many law enforcement experts believe will be a far greater deterrent to violent crime.

POFF

Sponsored by Rep. Richard Poff (R.-Va.), the measure establishes mandatory penalties for persons convicted of a federal felony in which a firearm is used. It sets a prison sentence of one to 10 years for the first offense and five to 25 years for subsequent offenses.

Under the Poff proposal, the sentence cannot be suspended, parole cannot be granted and the prison term has to begin after the person has served his time for any other conviction.

A number of police officials say that while gun controls may have some effect, they will be very difficult to enforce. They feel that a stiff sentence for those illegally using firearms would be a greater deterrent to lawlessness.

The Poff amendment, however, is likely to be eliminated in the Senate or in a Senate-House conference unless the voters at home request their congressmen to support it.

• The following 11 members of the House voted against the Poff resolution which would make things tougher on gun-toting criminals:

Democrats: Jonathan Bingham (N.Y.), Phillip Burton (Calif.), John Conyers (Mich.), John W. Davis (Ga.), Charles Diggs (Mich.), John Dow (N.Y.), Spark Matsunaga (Hawaii), Benjamin Rosenthal (N.Y.) and William F. Ryan (N.Y.).

Republicans: Ogden Reid (N.Y.) and Charles Wiggins (Calif.).

NLRB's Pro-Union Bias

Sen. Sam Ervin's (D.-N.C.) Subcommittee on the Separation of Powers received some new ammunition recently when the National Labor Relations Board handed down another pro-union decision. Ervin's subcommittee has been holding hearings relating to union bias on the NLRB and a recent case concerning the H. K. Porter Co., Inc., plant and the Steelworkers union sharply demonstrates the reason for the hearings.

This is the first NLRB case of its kind involving the board in direct dictation of a labor contract's terms.

During negotiations for a new contract, the union demanded inclusion of a dues checkoff system whereby the company collects the dues—i.e., does the dirty work for—the union. The Porter Co. was equally firm in resisting a checkoff setup. After agreement had been reached on all issues except the checkoff and certain wage and insurance matters, the union filed charges with the NLRB, accusing the company of refusing to bargain in good faith.

Upholding the charges, the NLRB issued a court-enforced order to the company to start good faith negotiations. In subsequent bargaining, the firm offered the union office space in which to collect dues, but the union insisted on the checkoff system and petitioned the court to force the company to give it.

While the court refused to do this directly, it told the NLRB that in appropriate cases the board could simply order the company to grant a checkoff. Seizing on these words, the NLRB directed the company to do so.

One of the judges, however, took issue with his two colleagues. The record showed, he said, that the union would not sign a contract without a checkoff. "Thus, the union never intended to bargain on that issue; it simply stated it must have a dues collection provision or there would be no contract. . . . Because of the union's attitude on the issue . . . bargaining as to a checkoff provision was impossible from the beginning. Yet it is the company, not the union, which has been found guity of an unfair labor practice." And, noted the *Wall Street Journal*, "not for the first time" either.

Griffin's Anti-Fortas Talk

Liberals in the Nation's Capital were in near panic last week as they realized there were now probably enough opponents to tie up the nominations of both Abe Fortas and Homer Thornberry. Fortas was named by LBJ to fill the chief justice spot on the U.S. Supreme Court, while Homer Thornberry has been picked as associate justice. Both are old LBJ cronies.

GRIFFIN

While gloom pervaded the editorial offices of the Washington *Post*, Sen. Robert Griffin (R.-Mich.), speaking before the National Press Club, gave a spirited defense of those who were sparking the fight against both Fortas and Thornberry.

Vigorously rejecting those critics who somehow feel the Senate's role should only be "passive," Griffin declared that this just "does not square with the clear intent of those who conferred the 'advice and consent' power upon the Senate." Griffin noted that Alexander Hamilton in the *Federalist Papers* had made it clear that the Senate's approval power would " . . . be an excellent check upon a spirit of favoritism of the President, would tend greatly to prevent the appointment of unfit characters from state prejudice, from family connection, from personal attachments, or from a view of popularity."

The fact is there have been 125 nominations submitted for the Supreme Court in our history. Of that number, 21, or one-sixth, have failed to win Senate approval, and the question of mere qualifications or fitness was an issue in only four of those 21 instances.

Comments to the contrary, said Griffin, the Senate has "never hesitated to look beyond mere qualifications to consider a nominee's philosophy, his writings, his views on issues, charges of cronyism or other matters."

In the case of Thornberry, Griffin asserted, "I am convinced, on the basis of the record and personal knowledge, that—while he is a good and fine gentleman—he is just not (as Sen. Norris Cotton put it) 'Supreme Court material.'"

Griffin declared that although Fortas is a brilliant lawyer there is a great question as to whether "he possesses an adequate sense of propriety and other qualities which are particularly appropriate and necessary to be chief justice. . . .

"When it comes to selecting the man in the United States best suited to be chief justice, I would prefer—and I believe most people would prefer—the type of lawyer who would not be asked to proposition newspaper publishers on behalf of a Baker or Jenkins; and who, if asked, would refuse. . . .

"I am confident that the public does not approve of the admitted telephone call made by Mr. Justice Fortas to a business friend, criticizing a public statement that Viet Nam war costs would run $5 billion higher than Administration estimates. Incidentally, the statement made at Hot Springs—and retracted after Mr. Fortas' phone call—turned out to be very accurate.

"I am confident that the public does not condone the fact that Mr. Justice Fortas admittedly participated in the decision-making process of the executive branch of government on such matters as the Viet Nam war and the Detroit riots.

"But more disturbing is the fact that Mr. Fortas stated to the Senate Judiciary Committee that he is proud of his extra-judicial activities, and that he 'did not see anything wrong with them.'

"Judges—particularly justices of the Supreme Court—have no license to ignore the separation of powers principle which is at the core of our system of government."

When President Franklin Roosevelt called upon Chief Justice Stone for assistance in arriving at executive decisions in connection with wartime rubber problems, Stone refused, remarking that when a justice participates in the action of the executive or legislative departments of government he "exposes himself to attack, and indeed invites it," which impairs his value as an impartial arbiter.

Griffin also bore down hard on the "cronyism" charge. The Gallup Poll, noted the Michigan lawmaker, has revealed that the Supreme Court is held in low esteem, not only because of its disastrous decisions but also because of the way in which judges are selected.

With respect for law "at a low ebb, with our ability to maintain order in our cities seriously in question. . . , and with sizable groups of Americans convinced that the basic institutions of our society are a sham and a fraud, the rewarding of an 'old friend' with the chief justiceship is uniquely inappropriate."

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POLITICS '68

ADA STUCK WITH HHH?

Top officials of the 50,000-member Americans for Democratic Action have signed a letter calling upon Democratic convention delegates to nominate Sen. **Eugene J. McCarthy** for President and issuing a sharp rebuke to ADA co-founder Hubert Humphrey. But political experts predict that the ADA will still be on the side of Humphrey if he wins the Democratic nomination.

HUMPHREY

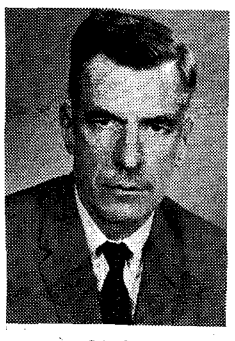
The organization's letter to delegates, signed by **Joseph Rauh, Leon Shull** and national chairman **John Kenneth Galbraith**, gives credit to Sen. McCarthy for producing a "revolution" inside the Democratic party.

Recent developments, the letter continued, reveal "that McCarthy has won overwhelmingly the **young, active cutting edge** of the party, the men and women who will dominate it in the future."

"It is not easy," the letter added, "to oppose Vice President Humphrey, our co-founder, our former national chairman and vice chairman and our **colleague in so many liberal efforts**.

"We have watched in sadness as the vice president became the evermore enthusiastic spokesman for the **disastrous policies in Viet Nam** with their corollary of neglect at home. We watch with sadness as he even now fails to support proposals that could end the war.

"We do not attack Hubert Humphrey, but he is the candidate of the past—of


GALBRAITH

McCARTHY

the past and of a policy that the people have rejected. This he cannot escape.

"Consistent with our deep belief in the politics of issues and ideology, we can come to no other conclusion than to oppose the nomination of Vice President Humphrey."

ADA Vice-Chairman Rauh also revealed that the McCarthy forces will try to outmaneuver Humphrey at the convention by making a **credentials fight** and attempting to produce an "all-out anti-Viet Nam" plank in the platform.

Nevertheless, many believe the ADA will be in Humphrey's corner if he should be chosen to head his party at the Chicago convention. Humphrey's good friend Joe Rauh implied at a news conference at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington that Humphrey would receive ADA backing over any Republican nominee. While he admitted it was conceivable, he said it was unlikely that the ADA would refuse to support Humphrey even if a liberal candidate like Rockefeller managed to win the Republican nomination.

One reason the ADA is likely to support Humphrey if he is nominated is that he continues to veer **toward the left** in his bid for the Democratic nomination. He has already boldly come out for trade with Communist China and has not ruled out trade with Cuba's Castro.

While claiming he is a follower of LBJ on the Viet Nam issue, he has turned to **Edwin O. Reischauer** as an adviser on the war, even though Reischauer believes our intervention was not only a mistake but has been pushing Ho into the arms of Mao. Reischauer, in fact, is not worried if Ho should eventually wind up as dictator of South Viet Nam.

And last week Humphrey was talking about **conciliating the Soviet Union**. He said he wanted to begin "widening areas of East-West agreement," particularly in arms control, and hoped for "expanding cooperation with the Soviet Union—in space, in the oceans, in new areas of technology, and in the face of urgent crises in the so-called third world." In short, Humphrey still seems to think that appeasement is the best answer when dealing with the Communists.

DOUGLAS BACKS DEMO

While Abe Fortas advises LBJ on affairs of state and bawls out businessmen who criticize the President, another Supreme Court justice, **William O. Douglas,** has also entered the political arena.

DOUGLAS

The **Committee of Concerned Citizens for Reelection of Ernest Gruening** recently sent out a fund appeal letter on behalf of the Alaskan Democrat. The author of the request for money was **Arthur Schlesinger Jr.,** but Douglas endorsed the effort, remarking in the letter: "Ernest Gruening is a very versatile, a very brave, a very deep man."

"I may be naive," a recipient of the fund appeal told columnist Willard Edwards, "but I was shocked by this use of a Supreme Court justice's name and opinions. Are we approaching the day when the justices will be stumping the country for their favorite candidates for office?"

NELSE'S BASH SQUASHED

The Washington Post's Maxine Cheshire, reporting from the Republican convention in Miami Beach, revealed last week that millionaire social register supporters of New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller had "hoped to keep it quiet, but the real reason that they canceled their party at the ultra-snobbish Bath Club here in Miami Beach this weekend was a vigorous protest from the **Anti-Defamation League** of B'nai Brith."

The **Bath Club**, according to ADL officials, has membership policies that are traditionally "restricted" on the basis of "race, creed and ethnic background."

The ADL acknowledged "alerting" Gov. Rockefeller's staff that the club was "inappropriate" because "Jews, Negroes and other minority groups are excluded from membership." Rocky cancelled the swank affair after the heat was put on.

"It was expected to be the most glamorous private gathering of the convention and 200 of the most **prestigious Republican notables** had sent their eager RSVP," said Maxine.

"Then, suddenly, **Mrs. Vincent Astor,** who had organized the whole thing with eight other multi-millionaires, sent out telegrams calling it off."

FULBRIGHT VULNERABLE

Sen. **J. William Fulbright**, the Senate's leading Viet Nam critic, squeaked through his Arkansas Democratic primary without a runoff, gaining 53 per cent of the vote against three opponents. Fulbright had predicted he would get 65 per cent, and now must face what he calls his "toughest opposition" in the November election against Republican **Charles Bernard.**

FULBRIGHT

Fulbright, who campaigned on a platform opposed to right-to-work laws and the teaching of evolution in Arkansas schools, won with a coalition of intellectuals, labor leaders, hard-line liberals and Old Guard Democrats. His closest competitor, state Wallace-for-President leader and White Citizens Council candidate **Jim Johnson**, received 88,000 votes less than Fulbright.

Bernard, Fulbright's November opponent, was unopposed in the primary and is generally regarded to be the strongest Senate candidate the Arkansas GOP has put up in this century. A businessman-farmer and treasurer of the state party, the 40-year-old Bernard will be a magnet for the substantial **anti-Fulbright voter bloc** in the state. Additionally, Bernard is more popular with the Negro voters than the incumbent liberal Democrat, who has alienated the black community with his repeated votes against civil rights bills.

"The man is definitely vulnerable," says Bernard of the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. "He's lost contact with the people. He hasn't served the interests of the Arkansas people well. His interests are somewhere else." And a Fulbright aide adds that Arkansas voters who do not like his boss "are the majority."

• Arkansas' Democratic gubernatorial primary was thrown into a runoff when the leading vote-getter, former utilities executive **Marion Crank**, failed to get a majority vote. His August 13 opponent will be **Virginia Johnson**, wife of the segregationist candidate for the Senate; Crank is expected to win rather easily. The state's incumbent governor, Republican **Winthrop Rockefeller**, was unopposed in his primary and is now a favorite for November re-election. After all, as Winthrop's backers say, would you want a Crank as your governor?

POLLS PEOPLE PLAY

Politicians and the press engaged in one of their favorite sports last week: **Poll Watching**, sometimes known as My-Poll's-Better'n-Your-Poll. The resulting display, as Republicans convened in Miami Beach, provided plenty of humor and heat, but very little light—other than enough to illuminate the fact that things haven't changed a whole lot since the Literary Digest showed Alf Landon an easy winner in '36.

It all began on Tuesday, July 30, when the Miami Herald prematurely released the results of a **Gallup Poll** showing GOP presidential front-runner Richard Nixon leading Democratic hopefuls Humphrey and McCarthy by comfortable margins while challenger Rockefeller ran neck-and-neck with the Democrats. Specifically, it was Nixon 40 per cent, Humphrey 38; Nixon 41 per cent, McCarthy 36; Rockefeller 36 per cent, Humphrey 36; Rocky 36 per cent, McCarthy 35.

Now, the fact that Rocky was depending almost exclusively on public opinion polls to influence GOP delegates into nominating him was among the **worst-kept secrets** of the year. But when this Gallup Poll broke, an unwary observer would have thought the New York governor cared not one whit for public opinion: "One Gallup doesn't make a race," cracked the Rock in a rare moment of levity. "I don't know any voters who are impressed by polls," added Rocky booster **John Lindsay.** "Why should the delegates be impressed?"

Why indeed? But the **pro-Rockefeller press** did its bit to downplay the phenomenal Nixon Gallup showing. The New York Times ran two stories side by side on its Tuesday front page, one headlined "Nixon Men Claim Victory" and the other "A Poll Buoys Rockefeller." The Rocky-boosting poll was one which the governor himself had commissioned and the Times' report was based solely on what Rockefeller himself said the results showed, with no substantiating facts or figures offered; yet the Times reported in the first paragraph that the private poll "indicated that Richard M. Nixon would have trouble defeating Vice President Humphrey in the November elections."

Two days later the results of a **Lou Harris national poll** were made public and this time it was Rockefeller's turn to embrace the idol of public opinion. These findings showed Humphrey leading Nixon, 41 to 36 per cent, McCarthy over Nixon, 43 to 35 per cent, Rocky heading HHH, 40 to 34 per cent, and edging McCarthy, 40 to 34 per cent.

The first thing newsmen did was attempt to find out how the divinations of the country's two leading pollsters could be so at odds with each other. The best they could come up with was that, although the polls were taken only a matter of from two to nine days apart in late July, the **national mood** was shifting so fast that such fluctuations in opinion were possible. "This has been that kind of year," said Harris.

Now it was the Nixon camp's turn to pooh-pooh the polls, while Rocky backers gloated. "If Governor Rockefeller's leaders really believe the Harris poll, their memories must be short," said Nixon press aide **Herb Klein.** "It was Mr. Harris who predicted Rockefeller would lose Oregon and win in California in 1964. The opposite was true."

And how did the **New York Times** play this poll? Front page all the way, headline blaring "Harris Poll Puts Rockefeller Ahead." Just for good measure, the Times added an editorial on the "Battle of the Polls." "Despite the Gallup Poll," the paper said, Rockefeller's "pragmatic argument is still convincing. Governor Rockefeller would be a stronger candidate because he is a more effective campaigner." QED—so far as the Times was concerned.

At the end of the week, pollsters Gallup and Harris tried to clear matters up a bit by issuing a joint statement saying that their figures were "not as dissimilar as they might appear to the public at first glance" (see page 3). And with a statistical version of the old shell game, they rearranged their figures to purportedly show Rockefeller opening up a wider lead.

By this time, if Gallup and Harris had taken a poll of the delegates, politicians and pressmen attending the GOP convention, they would have found a sizable majority in favor of banning polls from Miami Beach. There would be very few "undecideds."

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The Quiet Counter-Revolution at Columbia

While the university awaits a new wave of radical 'strikers' in the fall, students of a different ilk organize for order

By JUDSON HAND in the New York *Daily News*

Amid the bang and clatter of construction at the site of a new office building on East 42nd Street near Fifth Avenue in New York City, two Columbia seniors discussed counter-revolutionary strategy.

Their objective: To win overwhelming student support for law and order on the battle-scarred campus of their university.

It was lunch time. Jonathan Edelstein, an economics major, had buzzed uptown on a motorcycle from his summer Wall Street job for the conference. He heads the Students for Columbia University, which is plotting the counter-revolution for peace.

In a shack amid the debris of a demolished building, Jonathan huddled over a table with his chief lieutenant, Richard Wajculewski, a summer construction worker at the site.

The pair talked as they gulped soft drinks and sandwiches.

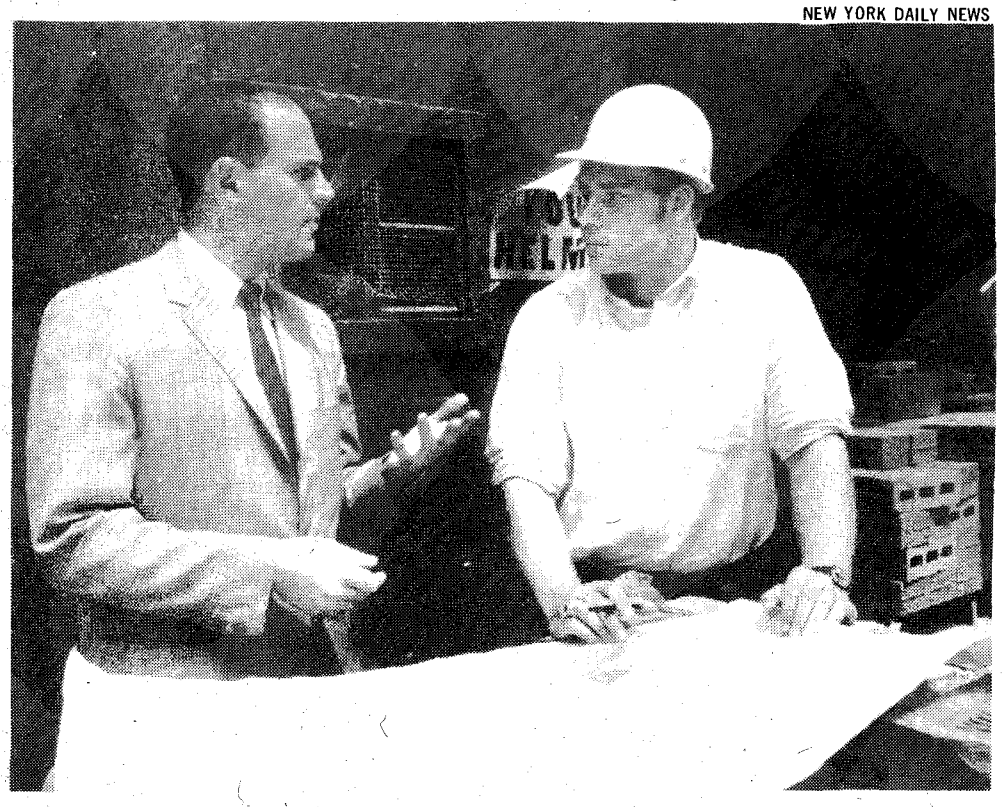
"By careful planning we can prevent radical students from having it all their way next fall," said Jonathan to Richard, a 200-pound middle-line backer on the Columbia football team.

Richard and Jonathan had been among hundreds of students who actively opposed the takeover of the Columbia campus last spring by members of the Students for a Democratic Society and other rebellious students and their sympathizers from off campus [see *Human Events*, June 15, 1968, page 7].

But their protests were drowned in cries of student power as the rebels seized buildings, defied cops and finally halted university classes for several days.

The insurgent students have threatened to strike again next fall unless the university yields to their demands, which include no punishment for students caught breaking the law or university rules during demonstrations.

NEW YORK DAILY NEWS



Columbia seniors Jonathan Edelstein (left) and Richard Wajculewski discuss plans on promoting the need for law and order on campus.

"Last spring we weren't organized and they were," said Jonathan, an immaculate dresser whose father is a federal judge. "But next fall we expect to mobilize at least 800 students for our cause.

"Our members will represent a wide range of opinions. Politically, they'll be left, right and in between. They'll differ on what they think university policy should be. But we'll all agree on the need for law and order on the campus."

The new organization is planning a flexible strategy designed to win over the vast majority of Columbia students who, it feels, are not yet committed in the struggle for control of the campus. If the moderates win enough support, they believe, they can force the SDS and other militant student groups to adopt a policy of peaceful co-existence with university authorities. The strategy includes:

- A drive to convince dissatisfied students that they needn't resort to violence, since university officials will listen to their grievances. The drive will include participation in dormitory bull sessions and pamphlets which will be passed out among students.
- A headquarters near the Columbia campus which will serve as a headquarters and nerve center for the peace movement.
- The raising of money off campus to support a new university-wide newspaper to compete with the *Spectator*, the Columbia College student daily.

"We feel the *Spectator* has refused to air the opinions of people like us who'd like to stop the anarchy," said Jonathan.

He continued: "We feel we're at a disadvantage in our campaign because we intend to follow university rules and we're non-violent. Our antagonists feel no such constraints."

Jonathan brushed some fall-out from the construction off his jacket. A Marine Corps reservist, he lives with his family in Yorkville.

Richard, who lives in Garden City, L.I., could not be distinguished in his work clothes from the construction men around him. But he won awards two years running for maintaining the highest grade average on the football team (B-plus). He has lettered also in wrestling and rugby football and plans next year to serve on the Student Council. He wants to be a lawyer.

"I don't want to interfere with the rights of Mark Rudd [a leader of the rebellion], the SDS or any other group on campus," said Richard. "They're entitled to free speech, too.

"But the SDS and its cohorts have interfered with my rights. They prevented me from attending classes, for example. And nobody takes away my rights."

Richard said he'd been amazed at the swift rise of the SDS to power and influence on campus.

"As a sophomore I discussed political issues and social theories with SDS members in sociology class," he recalled. "In those days, they'd argue with you. I didn't take them too seriously then.

"Now, the SDS members won't discuss the issues with you. When you try to show them they're wrong, they simply tell you they know they're morally right and that's that."

Richard and Jonathan agreed that the radical groups won lots of student support when police broke up on-campus demonstrations which, after arrests were made, turned into wild, fist-swinging melees.

"Middle-class students who'd never really come into contact with the police were horrified when they saw classmates arrested," said Richard. "They'd thought of the university as a kind of sanctuary away from the workaday world."

However, Jonathan added that he'd seen cops "try by every peaceful means" to disperse demonstrators before they moved in on them. And he pointed out that "cops were the ones most seriously injured in the fighting."

Richard glanced at his watch and said the lunch hour was over and he'd have to return to his job.

"Sometimes it's hard for me to keep my cool," he said as he rose from the table. "The SDS crowd calls me a dumb jock [athlete] with no brains."

"That's mild," said Jonathan, "the parents of one SDS member called me 'a damned fascist pig' as they were going into graduation ceremonies a few weeks ago. I was passing out leaflets."

"We're optimistic," said Jonathan as he gunned his motorcycle for the return trip to Wall Street. Many of last year's freshmen and sophomores say they're with us. And we have quite a few student leaders on our side."

This was a typical scene at Columbia University during the recent massive civil disobedience by students and hangers-on which totally paralyzed the campus.

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The Fallacies We Live By

That Negro Education Has Ever Been 'Equal'

By FRED G. CLARK and RICHARD S. RIMANOCZY of the American Economic Foundation

In one very important area of information Negro education in America has never been "equal."

This was emphasized not long ago in conversations we had with several Negro educators working to solve their people's problems through self-evaluation, individual self-improvement and dignified gainful employment.

"The Negro American," said one of them, "has had many educational opportunities but, with few exceptions, has never been prepared to play a full role in the key function of Americanism—the private competitive business system. There are many brilliant Negroes to whom the doors of learning have always been open, but what are the products? Preachers, teachers, lawyers, doctors and social workers—particularly social workers.

"The missing link in this chain—and a serious one—is the entrepreneur, the Negro who is motivated and trained to start a business, to provide jobs, help develop communities and make a substantial economic contribution in exchange for a substantial economic reward."

When he said "start a business" he did not mean a big business. It could be a store, a service company, a trucking company, an insurance agency—anything that could grow and prosper under careful conscientious management.

Another leader in this field struck a note of optimism. "If the educators would only realize how easy it is to correct this massive indifference, they would get busy and do it. Most white children grow up in the atmosphere of free enterprise, and effortlessly soak up at least a basic understanding of how it works. Through observation and experience they can set their sights according to their personal ambitions because they know that almost anybody who has something to offer business or industry, is both needed and welcome.

"In sharp contrast, most Negro boys grow up in an atmosphere of exclusion from the mainstream of the economy because neither at home nor in the classroom has anybody ever told them how the free enterprise system works. This becomes tragic when you stop to realize how easy it is to explain the operation and opportunities of economic freedom when you use the words people understand. This knowledge can be transmitted in the classroom but more importantly for the present racial crisis, it can be *quickly* transmitted to voluntary groups recruited from the poolroom, the bowling alley, or the street corner."

This last statement brings us to an urgently important point: every American who views racial strife with alarm, and wants to help "cool it," should find and help the conservative Negro groups in their communities which are working to raise the sights of their dissident people and put them on the road to first-class economic citizenship.

The white man is seldom able to directly help the unhappy Negro because he cannot "get through to him." But the white can and must help the Negro leaders who can communicate. They welcome financial assistance and simple economic material which can be adapted to the orientation and indoctrination program that is a vital part of raising the head, straightening the shoulders and quickening the step of the shiftless youth who has given up because he thinks the system is stacked against him.

The white employer can help both himself and the community by hiring qualified Negro dropouts and cop-outs if they are dealt with realistically. Minor prison records must be overlooked. Personal problems must be expected and counsel given. These problems might concern past-due installment debt, domestic difficulties, etc. In any event they should be discovered and every practical form of assistance extended.

Above all, they should be made to realize that they are welcome, that they got the job because they have something to offer that is *needed.* The employer must let them know they are needed by giving them meaningful work and responsibility. Negroes can get handouts without working. If they believe that their employment is just another handout neither they nor their employer will be happy about the arrangement.

Our restless dissatisfied Negro youth will be what we make it—a national asset or a national problem. This group must *know* that it is not economically isolated.

Chiang Warns Japanese About Trading With Reds

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

While the Johnson Administration all but grovels before the Soviet Union and cautiously sounds out the American people on the possibility of extending appeasement to Red China, over in the Far East Chiang Kai-shek gives the Japanese people a needed lesson on the futility of doing business with communism.

Almost 80 years old, the indomitable president of the Republic of China has not hesitated to remind a Japanese goverment, which some suspect of trying to play both sides of the political street, that it cannot have diplomatic relations both with Peking and with Taipei.

In an interview with a 16-member Japanese press mission, the Generalissimo recently made it clear that in answer to Tokyo's diplomatic recognition of Peking, Taiwan would scrap the "peace treaty" which formally put an end to the war between Japan and China.

As the price of a peace treaty with Japan, Chiang warned, Red China would demand a war indemnity, an annulment of the Japanese-American treaty of mutual security (the current alliance) and the restitution of the Ryukyu Islands.

For who is not with Mao is against him. "The neutrality of today is a Communist-invented deception," Chiang said.

Furthermore he questioned why any Japanese government should recognize Red China precisely at a moment when that regime is visibly falling to pieces. With the arrest of its leader, Liu Shao-chi and the disappearance of its secretary general, Teng Hsiao-ping, "the Chinese Communist regime has sunk into anarchy."

The armed forces have split into factions which may soon be warring for supremacy. Contrary to a recent prediction by a number of assembled Japanese diplomats, that Peking's great cultural revolution will end by October of this year, thanks to the establishment of Mao's revolutionary committees in most of the provinces, the actual result may well be the overthrow of the regime through civil war.

"Japanese friends of the Republic of China should wait and see these developments," President Chiang warned.

Who among the mainland people still has confidence in Mao Tse-tung? he asked. Who does not want the Peking regime overthrown? "The direction of the international tides of today is toward freedom and democracy, for which everyone is longing."

And he urged Japan to stand forthrightly against the Chinese Communists, both diplomatically and economically.

Statements like the Gimo's apparently mean little to an American Administration that has, for no apparent reason save the coming American election, shifted from solemn warnings concerning Red China's enmity to a plea for "peaceful bridges" to Mao—or perhaps to his wife or to the Red Guards!

But Chiang's warnings count with Americans more concerned with halting the further spread of communism than with continuing the disastrous appeasement folly of FDR, John F. Kennedy and LBJ.

In fact, in an admirable speech on the Senate floor on June 10, Republican Sen. George Murphy pointed out the inconsistency in the Johnson policy toward Red China and wondered why, at a time Peking is urging Hanoi to prosecute the war against America with renewed vigor, Under Secretary of State Nicholas Katzenbach appeals for "just about any gesture" as a token of Peking's interest in improving relations with the United States.

So far there has been no satisfactory answer.

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The Myth of Che Guevara

'Ramparts' & Co. have swallowed a propaganda handout

By PAUL BETHEL

To the surprise of practically no one, the leftist publication *Ramparts* has opened its pages to a determined anti-U.S. propaganda drive by Fidel Castro.

The triple-barreled assault in the July 27 issue consists of "The Diary of Che Guevara," a "necessary" introduction to it by Castro and an endorsement of the propaganda package by editor Robert Scheer, who writes: "We find it fitting that Che's Diary was made public by his Cuban campaneros [Ed: it should be spelled companeros] rather than against those whom he fought, and we feel privileged to have been involved in its first publication." Scheer evidently finds it insignificant that several pages (amounting to perhaps 2,500 words) are missing or that the document most probably was tampered with before being released by Havana.

What editor Scheer actually is saying is that *Ramparts* has accepted uncritically a propaganda handout. What he does not say, but others have, is that the conditions under which Castro permitted the publication of Guevara's diary prevented any additions or deletions to the Havana text even if faced with evidence that the document was doctored. So much for that.

The blunt truth is that Castro's celebrated guerrilla chieftain ran a miserable military campaign in Bolivia and was shot to death in the process. His diary provides adequate proof of this. Fidel Castro's introduction, following Communist practice of turning defeat into a propaganda victory, tries to obscure that truth. The trilogy might more aptly be described as "Beautification of a Failure."

The activities of French Marxist Regis Debray are important to an understanding of what went on, first during the "Cuban revolution" and then in Bolivia. Here is why. Last year Havana published a journeyman work by Debray called *Revolution in the Revolution?* Its real importance is the fact that it parades a false version of the guerrilla insurrection against Batista. Debray advanced into a Castro ambush by taking at face value the stories of guerrilla warfare, brilliantly conceived and cunningly executed, by which Castro, in Castro's words, was able to "annihilate" Batista's army. As Debray saw the Bolivian venture, it was a textbook exercise (written by him) and he joined Guevara in Bolivia to see history repeat itself.

History did not repeat for the simple reason that the "great guerrilla victories" back in 1957-58 occurred only in the imagination of the bearded dictator, not on the battlefields of Cuba. Guevara was frankly experimenting in a type of guerrilla warfare that he never was able to carry on during the Cuban campaign; he was attempting to see if he could create "the objective conditions" for Communist guerrilla warfare among the Bolivian peasants. And he failed. That's all.

Mr. Bethel is executive director of the Citizens Committee for a Free Cuba and editor of the authoritative "Latin America Report." A member of the American Embassy staff in Havana when Fidel Castro seized control, he has kept up his many contacts in the Latin American diplomatic corps and has personally interviewed hundreds of Cuban refugees.

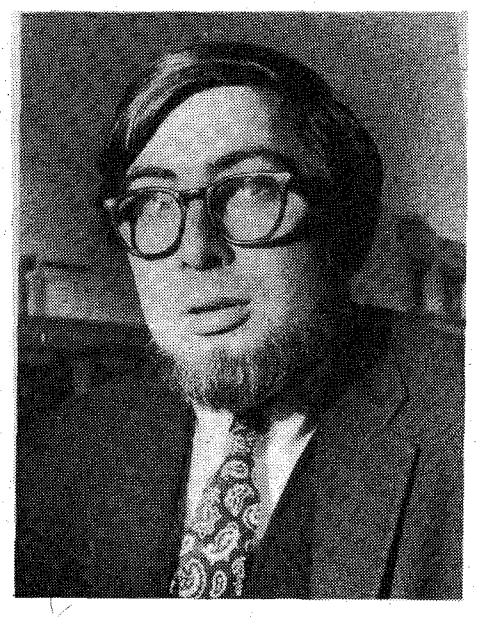
It is clear from Guevara's diary that the Frenchman annoyed Che with his romantic notions and textbook ideas. Guevara was angered because Debray's immature Marxism made him incapable of distinguishing between the utility of Communist propaganda as told to him by Castro, and the hard realities of guerrilla warfare in Bolivia as Guevara faced them.

Che thought he had solved the problem when he dispatched Debray to France to enlist the support of students and intellectuals. Unfortunately for Guevara, Debray was captured and, as the saying goes, "sang like a bird," telling his captors that Guevara was leading the expedition and where he could be found. Debray is paying for his foolishness and his perfidy by serving a 30-year sentence in a cold and dank Bolivian jail.

But Castro's megaphone, Debray, has to be defended and Che Guevara made a hero, so Castro goes to great lengths in his "Necessary Introduction" to demonstrate a togetherness between the two.

He dismisses the cutting comments about Debray in Guevara's diary to "a certain inconsistency," and indeed implies that the Bolivian campaign was based on his own "revolution." The shame of it all is that Castro has used a dead man to further his own false version of Cuban history to retain claims that he, too, is a great guerrilla strategist and to keep the enthusiasm of his proteges (Stokely Carmichael, for example) at fever pitch.

So what *Ramparts* has done in this aspect of its publication is to sustain

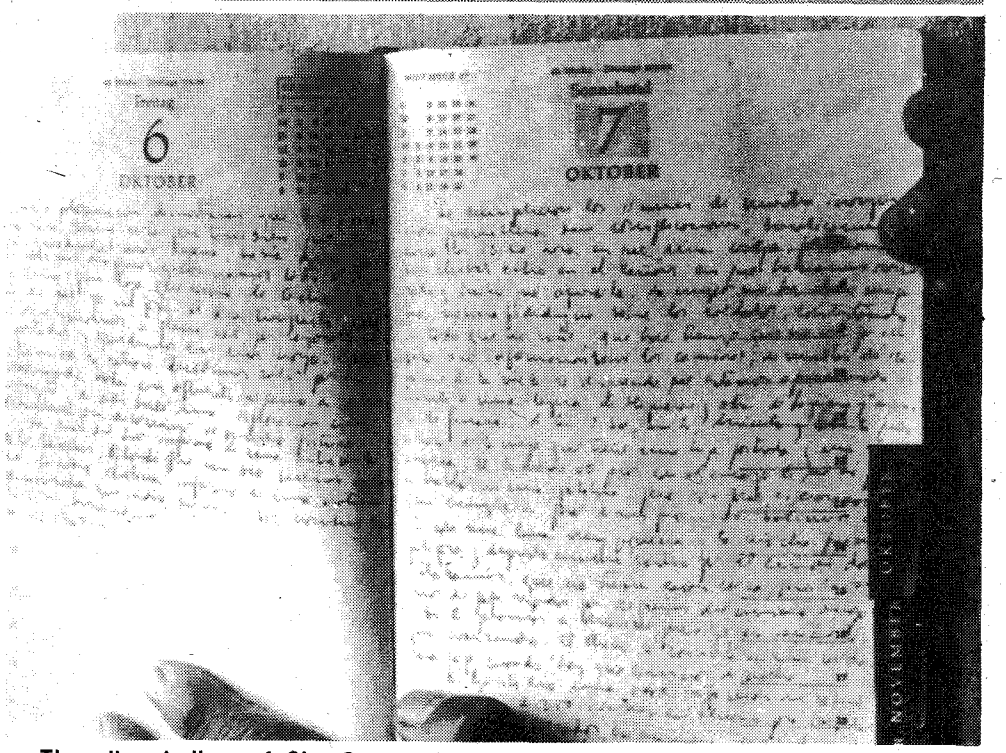


Ramparts editor Robert Scheer felt "privileged to have been involved" in the publication of Che's diary.

that myth. (Incidentally, the haste with which Havana threw the propaganda package together is evident. Castro's introduction says that his guerrilla force landed in Cuba on Dec. 5, 1956, when in fact it landed on December 2. Castro's own "inconsistency" appears when he writes about a guerrilla engagement taking place on December 3.)

The facts of the Cuban campaign are other than Castro would have us or Debray believe and a couple of incidents prove it. Guevara would be the first to shudder, not only at the opportunistic slobbering over his grave, but stories of his much talked-about march from Oriente Province to the Escambray Mountains in the fall of 1958.

Castro would have been content to keep all of his forces safely holed-up



The alleged diary of Che Guevara is held open to its final two pages, Oct. 6-7, 1967. The first line on October 7 reads, "We just entered through the eleventh month of guerrilla activities without much complication. . . ."

in the mountains some 500 miles from Havana and it was only a challenge made to him by two other anti-Batista groups that forced him to send Guevara on the march. The two bands—Second Front of the Escambray and the Student Directorate—moved into the mountains following a brave attempt by the Student Directorate on March 13, 1956, to storm the Presidential Palace and assassinate Batista. So Guevara was ordered to challenge the bands' authority, which then extended over a large part of the mountainous region in central Cuba.

Guevara and a group of men made their way to Camaguey Province, bordering on Oriente, and there stopped at the U.S. Department of Agriculture experimental station, expropriating jeeps and other items at gun point. Guevara wrapped $100,000 in U.S. currency in a bundle and sent it to the military commander of Agramonte Barracks, together with a note advising him to take the money and let him pass or he would surely be shot "when the revolution triumphs."

The commander took the money, and his troops, already dispirited by government corruption, obligingly looked the other way as Guevara and his men moved through Camaguey Province almost within sight of the central highway and into the mountains of the Escambray.

Another event, among many, shows how the deterioration in army morale and corruption within the Batista government was preyed upon by Castro, and dissolved the will to resist. An armored military train (the only one) was "captured" following what Castro's effective propaganda organ, Radio Rebelde, described as "a fierce battle." What actually happened is that the train was *sold* to Castro by one of Batista's officers. A few machine-gun bursts at the empty train to make it look good and the deal was consummated in a triumph of Castro propaganda.

What struck those of us in the U.S. Embassy at Havana at the time was the expert nature of Castro's propaganda machine, not Castro's claims of victory in battle. His guerrilla forces stayed safely in the mountains as the military symbol of widespread popular revulsion to Batista's dictatorship.

The real battles were fought in Havana by civic resistance groups composed of middle-class and upper middle-class youths who thought Castro was a child of their own enlightenment. They came to know only later that he was but the bastard son of the old tyranny. But Castro preyed upon them as well, putting out the ridiculous figure that Batista had murdered 20,000 Cubans, a figure that was given currency by the New York *Times* in the writings of Herbert Matthews. Following Matthews' endorsement, Castro had the ear of the world's news correspondents who moved in and out of the Sierra Maestra with practically the ease of commuters. The students had no spokesmen for their cause.

The American adventurer William Morgan fought with the Second Front of the Escambray and told me something about the power of propaganda. Not being ideologically motivated, Comandante Morgan was open in describing its utility.

One "encounter" between opposing forces, rebroadcast by radio to a goggle-eyed Cuban audience, was, Morgan told me in June 1959, "a tremendous propaganda play." A contingent of his men "taped battle commands, directed fictitious troops here and there," while background noises were supplied by Browning automatics, pistols, rifles, "punching great holes in the air." "We yelled a lot, too," Morgan recalled in great merriment.

Of course, all was not merriment, but there is a propensity among warriors to exaggerate their exploits, while Castro's ego and Communist propaganda practice amounts to a compulsion to do so.

Che Guevara's diary itself—running from Nov. 7, 1966, to Oct. 7, 1967—makes for dull reading among the general public. Moreover, it is Castro, who interprets Guevara, that provides a real understanding of the nitty gritty.

Guevara talks about the "bad guy," Mario Monje, secretary general of the Bolivian Communist party, who tried to assume military direction of the guerrilla

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movement. He writes that Monje wanted to resign from the party, take over the "political and military leadership" of the guerrilla movement so long as it remained Bolivian in character, and seek recruits from outside the party. Guevara records that he rejected the second point, saying "I would be the military chief."

Castro blows this incident into a serious split between the guerrilla movements in Latin America and the Soviet-controlled Communist parties, and thus preserves another myth.

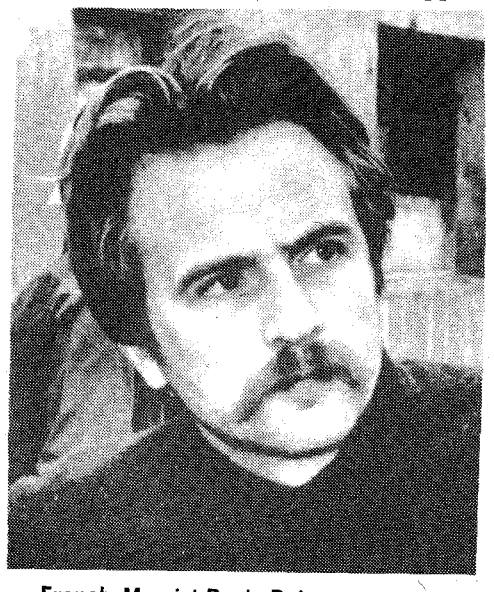
The New York *Times* accepts this aspect of Guevara's diary. On July 1 the *Times* said: "Underlying this conflict was the disagreement between Havana and Moscow over the political desirability of fomenting guerrilla operations in Latin America at this time." On July 15 the *Times* remarked of an East-German-trained female agent, "Tania," that she had attached herself to Guevara under orders from Moscow "to betray Mr. Guevara's mission" and added: "Moscow and the Latin-American Communist parties who heed its orders have opposed Premier Castro's plans and have urged patient penetration instead."

So there we have it, another "split" corresponding in this hemisphere to the "differences" between Moscow and Peking in Asia.

But the diary of another member of Guevara's guerrilla group, a Cuban doctor, serves to deflate this theory. It has, perhaps, been deliberately overlooked for that very reason, and is important to an understanding of what went on in Bolivia.

Dr. Carlos Luna Martinez began his diary in November 1966: "November 22 left Leningrad for Moscow by train. November 25, Prague, where it is a white inferno of snow and I learned how to play chess. December 3, we departed for Buenos Aires and arrived there on December 4. On December 5 and 6, we went to the movies, then bought books and medicines. December 7 and following, we arrived at the Hotel Copacabana in La Paz. Arturo couldn't stand the altitude and he fainted. We helped him and he responded. We then made some purchases in the fictitious name of 'Malmist, Inc."

The Cuban doctor's diary also covers Guevara's meeting with Communist party leader Mario Monje, recording on Dec. 31, 1966: "The secretary general of the Communist party of Bolivia, which follows the Soviet line, arrived in our camp. He would join the guerrilla movement on three conditions" and Dr. Luna Martinez lists them: "1) He would give up his present duties with the party if he was assured that we followed a 'line parallel to that of the party'; 2) that he would be named political and military chief of the guerrillas; and 3) that he was free to seek the support of other parties. 'Ramon' [Guevara] rejected the second condition and said: 'I am the chief.' "



French Marxist Regis Debray was sent by Guevara to France to drum up support for his guerrilla campaign in Bolivia, but was caught and is now serving a 30-year jail sentence.

What comes through is that an undetermined number of Cuban guerrillas went to Bolivia via the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. Officials of both nations had to know the purpose and the ultimate destination of the Cuban guerrillas—people don't just move in and out of Communist nations without a known purpose.

Another major point, brought out in both diaries, is that Guevara did not object to following "a line parallel to that of the party," and presumably was already on that course. Guevara's refusal may well have rested on the practical assessment that his Cuban cadres would prefer to follow him rather than an unknown, a novice in guerrilla warfare. The fact is that there is no substantial trace of ideological differences between Monje and Guevara, only the question as to who would be the "military," not the "political" leader of the guerrillas.

During Castro's campaign in the Oriente Province mountains in 1958, he found time for some target practice as his fellow guerrillas look on.

There is no observable reason to speculate that "Tania" acted as a double agent and, at the orders of Moscow, double-crossed Guevara. The New York *Times* and the official "experts" it quotes should know that the ideological obsessions of Communists have always prevented them from living in peace with each other, much less with others. To the contrary, there is more reason to believe that "Tania" was coordinating efforts between Moscow and Guevara. It is perfectly clear that Che was undone by Debray, a Castroite, not "Tania," a Soviet agent.

What this all adds up to is that U.S. news media (including Bantam Books, Stein and Day, and other publications) appear to be taking over where the discredited Herbert Matthews, Leo Huberman & Paul Sweezey, C. Wright Mills, Carleton Beales, Jean Paul Sartre, Samuel Shapiro and others have left off. The American public now is, or is about to be, pelted with the story that Castro's export of revolution is prejudicial to the strategy of the Soviet Union and its party apparatus in Latin America.

They might at least have suspected a hoax when the Guevara diary makes Bolivian Secretary General Mario Monje out to be a bad guy, and another, identified as Kolle (Castro-controlled), as a good guy. The full name of the secretary general is Mario Monje Kolle. If he is a Siamese twin, he was both good and bad, depending on which head was talking at the time.

More recent incidents in Colombia indicate that, like Castro's aberrations regarding the Cuban "revolution," our State Department "experts" seem to be having their own dreams about a split which allegedly exists between the Kremlin and its Communist parties in Latin America and Castro and his guerrillas.

Upon renewing diplomatic relations with Russia last January, Colombian President Carlos Lleras Restrepo accepted as Soviet ambassador one Nikolai Belous, and did so in the face of knowledge that Belous had been kicked out of Argentina for heading up a vast subversive network. Both Lleras and Belous assured an aroused Colombian press that Russia was interested only in trade and diplomatic relations and would meticulously avoid interfering in Colombia's internal affairs. Then in mid-May news that the Soviets were doing the opposite burst upon Colombia with the force of a bomb-shell.

Two Castroite couriers were apprehended at Bogota's airport carrying $101,000 and plans for erupting urban guerrilla warfare in Colombia. The money was to have been delivered to Castro's guerrilla chief, Fabio Vazquez. More important, the two couriers revealed that the money and plans had been given to them in Mexico by a Soviet diplomat from the Russian Embassy in Havana! This is the Communist double-track strategy being followed throughout Latin America, and there is much evidence to prove it.

For example, the Central Committee of the Communist party of Colombia passed a resolution last January which exults: "The guerrilla movement is active and has successfully resisted all attempts to destroy it." It also says that guerrilla wars complement other forms of Communist subversion.

The June issue of *World Marxist Review* (a Soviet-controlled publication) is even more explicit, with Colombian theoretician Jaime Gonzalez bluntly stating: "There is no contradiction between armed and non-armed forms of struggle—*they complement each other*. By supporting and facilitating both, our party has proved that armed struggle is harmoniously blended with other forms of the people's struggle which, *in combination, make up our strategy*" (emphasis added).

Castro's appeal in *Ramparts* to U.S. Negroes to oppose the war in Viet Nam, be "combative" and overthrow our form of government fits neatly into place. Of Guevara: "His ideas, his image, his name are the banners of the struggle against the injustices of the oppressed and the exploited and stir up passionate interest on the part of students and intellectuals all over the world."

It is little wonder that Gus Hall has decided to enter the U.S. Communist party in the elections. According to mistaken theory, the Stokely Carmichaels and Rap Browns are "the bad guys," while the Communist party is composed of the "white hats." In fact, one is the hammer and the other the anvil. The purpose: to pound democratic government to a pulp.

How successful is this combination may be seen in an article written by the U.S. Communist leader, published in the July 5 edition of *Pravda*. Wrote Gus Hall: "You cannot possibly imagine how much easier it is for the American Communist to speak to rank-and-file Americans . . . the Korean War succeeded in convincing a substantial part of our people that the Soviet Union was the aggressor. Today, it is rare for any American to imply in any way that the Soviet Union is acting the role of aggressor . . . they are condemning U.S. criminal aggression in Viet Nam . . . profound ideological progress. . . ."

Indeed it is. Our foolish foreign policy chickens have come home to roost on the rifle barrels of our Negro militants. Castro openly incites them to shoot and the Russians support both while cooing like a dove. What comes through in the publicity surrounding Guevara's diary is that the Communist double-track policy has now penetrated our own country. And we can thank unthinking news media and the official "experts" in Washington whom the *Times* and others cite in support of the theory of a "split."

USSR Backs Castro's Nuclear Arms

By PAUL SCOTT

While President Johnson prods the Senate to ratify the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, Russia has made it clear that it has no intention of committing the Soviet Union to any agreement that would prevent Castro's use of nuclear weapons in the Western Hemisphere.

This highly significant development emerged from the recent signing in the Kremlin of a cultural exchange agreement between Mexico and the Russians.

In winding up the first "goodwill" visit by a top Mexican official to the Kremlin in 50 years, Foreign Minister Antonio Carrillo Flores asked Communist party boss Brezhnev if his government would sign the Treaty of Flalteloco.

That is the treaty—already endorsed by the U.S. and Great Britain—which proclaims that all signatories recognize Latin America as a nuclear-free zone—one in which nuclear arms will never be used.

To the Mexican foreign minister's utter amazement, Brezhnev frankly said that the Kremlin wouldn't approve the treaty, since Castro was violently opposed to it and had refused to sign it.

Significantly, Castro has boldly insisted, ever since the 1962 missile crisis, that Cuba will not hesitate to use nuclear weapons if and when it suits Havana's purpose. From time to time Castro also has even hinted to foreign diplomats that not all of the Soviet nuclear-tipped missiles were withdrawn.

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Herbert Marcuse: Prophet of Violence

New Left court philosopher would 'repress' all opposing ideas

By DONALD FEDER

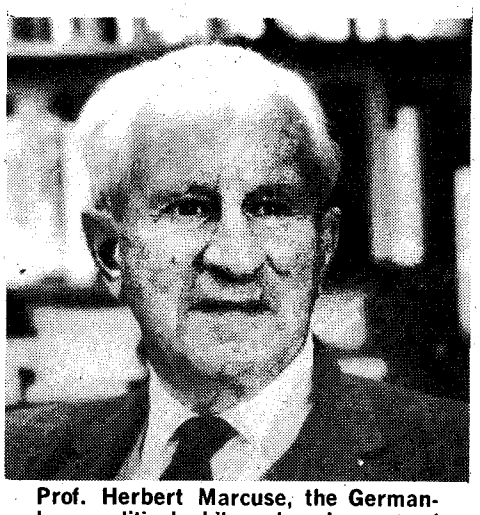
When left-wing students recently staged a demonstration which closed the University of Rome, they carried banners reading "Marx, Marcuse, and Mao." As one of the students explained it, "We see Marx as the prophet, Marcuse as his interpreter, and Mao as the sword." This spring witnessed violent student demonstrations in Italy, Germany, France and America. Behind them was the philosophy of one man, Dr. Herbert Marcuse.

At 70 years of age, the jovial, snowy-haired Dr. Marcuse hardly gives the appearance of a prophet of violence. His students at the University of California at San Diego, where he teaches political philosophy, are charmed by his kindly Kris Kringle smile, old-world German accent and quiet self-demeaning nature. Yet his revolutionary, quasi-Marxist writings have inspired thousands of students to the worst kind of nihilistic violence.

Born in 1898 in Berlin, Herbert Marcuse came from a well-to-do, cultured German family. He received a baptism of fire in radical Marxist tactics when he joined the Spartacist League of the German Communist, Rosa Luxemburg. After earning a Ph. D. in philosophy from the University of Freiburg in 1922, Marcuse and Theodor Adorno founded the Frankfurt Institute of Social Research. The institute studied the application of Marxist principle to the then emerging science of sociology.

In 1933, with the rise of Nazism, Marcuse left Germany and spent the next three years in Geneva. He came to America in 1936 to become a lecturer at Columbia University. As did many anti-Nazi refugees, he contributed substantially to America's war effort, serving several years in the Office of Strategic Service. After the war he reentered academic life as an instructor at Harvard, Columbia, Brandeis and, finally, the University of California at San Diego, where he still teaches.

Dr. Marcuse's philosophy, a weird



Prof. Herbert Marcuse, the German-born political philosopher, has served as a catalyst for much of the current disorder on and off college campuses throughout the world.

mixture of Freud and Marx, is perfectly suited to the New Left. Although his books are too polemical to be assigned as required reading by most universities, they are worshipfully studied by Students for a Democratic Society and their comrades-in-arms.

'Socially Useful Destructiveness'

In the best known of these books, *The One Dimensional Man*, Marcuse launches a rather novel attack against modern industrial society: By providing man with an abundance of food, clothing and material comforts, this society robbed the individual of his desire for intellectual growth and self-expression. Since it is obvious that a Socialist revolution will not be brought about by the now docile masses, Marcuse abandons the proletariat as the medium for the desired social upheaval. Instead he finds much promise in students and the "oppressed" minorities. Using what Marcuse terms "socially useful destructiveness," they will apply the pressure necessary to obliterate our bourgeois-industrial state.

And what comes after the Revolution? Why, rule by the elite, of course. Marcuse would replace representative democracy with a dictatorship controlled by those who rigidly adhere to his Marxist views.

According to the professor, majority rule should be replaced by the "morality" of a presumedly infallible minority and such outmoded middle-class customs as freedom of speech should be abolished.

In an essay entitled "Repressive Tolerance" (in his book, *A Critique Of Pure Tolerance*) Marcuse states that all right-of-center opinion should be suppressed. He includes in this right-of-center category anyone who favors armaments for defense ("chauvinists") or opposes the extension of social services, such as Medicare ("self-appointed conservatives"). In reviewing Marcuse's "Negations," Max Geltman warned that "Herbert Marcuse would put you and me in jail: would stop our mouths, close down our publishing ventures, and—if he could achieve it—foreclose our thinking. . . ." Even ultra-liberal Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. has realized the fascistic nature of Marcuse's proposals. "That [Marcuse's] would be a system," said Schlesinger, "which would abrogate, for example, the Bill of Rights, which would deny freedom of expression to those who took views which Herbert would consider anti-public."

Marcuse himself gives a very concise summation of his idea of toleration when he states, "Liberating tolerance, then, would mean intolerance against movements from the Right, and toleration of movements from the Left."

As frightening as it is to read the totalitarian views of Herbert Marcuse, it is even more frightening to see those views used as the basis for the actions of the violence-prone New Left.

In July 1967 Marcuse visited the Free University of Berlin for a series of lectures and debates. According to the June 30, 1967, New York *Times*, he told his audiences "what the students wanted to hear . . . advice on how to revolt against their country's present parliamentary system." Later in an interview, Dr. Marcuse said that Rudi Dutschke, one of the radical leaders of Socialist German students, was "a sweet demagogue."

"He is a highly intelligent, honest, and active student," declared Marcuse, "one of the great hopes of all those who work for a better society."

Rudi and his allies, by their own admission, want to abolish political parties and replace them with plebiscite democracies operating through workers' and students' councils. This sounds suspiciously like the workers' and soldiers' soviets of Russian communism.

When this same "sweet demagogue" was shot on April 11, 1968, hordes of his student followers staged a wholesale attack on the Springer newspapers and magazines. To express their displeasure with Springer's staunch anti-communism, the German New Leftists stopped part of the circulation in Berlin and six other cities for several days. This violent attempt at censorship ended up in two deaths, hundreds of injuries and an enormous amount of property damage.

'Deny Speech to Chauvinists'

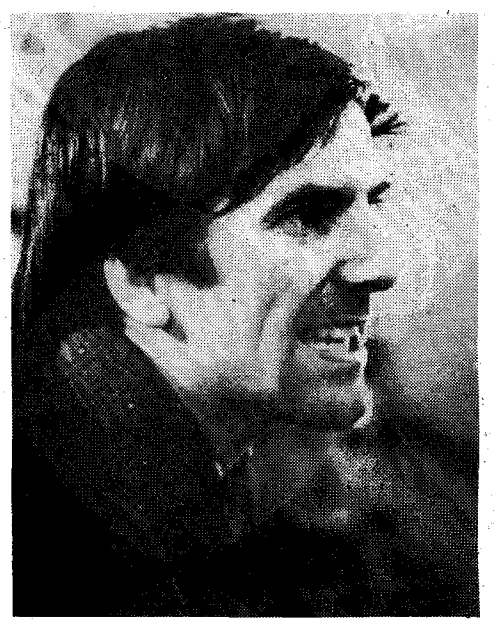
Also inspired by Marcuse's doctrine, 200 members of Germany's equivalent of the SDS stormed America House in Frankfurt. Their objective was to prevent a panel discussion on the war in Viet Nam. Marcuse had written that the proper society would "deny free speech to the chauvinists" and his followers obey.

This spring Marcuse traveled to Paris for a UNESCO symposium on Marx. After consulting with the North Vietnamese delegation, presumedly on how to defeat the "imperialists," he conferred with Parisian students and encouraged them to open rebellion. He left France just before the violent, crippling general strike began. As one of his students so aptly stated, "he's where the action is."

Although the terror which gripped France for the better part of a month has been well documented, two incidents stand out. On May 7, to shouts of "Guevara, Guevara," Communist students hoisted the Viet Cong flag on the Eiffel Tower and spat on the tomb of the Unknown Soldier. At the same time, their comrades in the Saint Germain-des-Pres destroyed a South Vietnamese pavilion, beat up the exhibitors and looted funds collected to help Vietnamese war orphans. More of Marcuse's new "morality" in action.

The leader of these "students" is Danny Cohn-Bendit, another disciple of Marcuse. Cohn-Bendit has stated quite succinctly, "We are not worried about what to build later. For the moment we are concerned with the destruction of the existing system." Destruction for destruction's sake: pure Marcuse.

Despite his frequent foreign excursions, Marcuse has not neglected the Revolution on the home front. "Well, I certainly supported the demands of



Rudi Dutschke, the extremely radical "sweet demagogue" of the German left, is a strong disciple of Marcuse.

the Columbia students," he declared. When questioned about the widespread destruction of private property which took place, he placidly replied, "nice separations between theory and tactics cannot always be made. . . ." And what of the tactics of Prof. Marcuse's Columbia followers? Jeffrey Hart writes in *National Review*, "Some intimation of their moral quality can be gleaned from the manners of the revolutionaries who occupied President Kirk's office at Columbia: excrement in the wastebaskets, obscenities scrawled on pictures of the president's family, filth and random destruction everywhere."

The seeds of revolution which Herbert Marcuse planted in his politico-philosophic works have begun to bear their fruit. The little Frankensteins who destroy and suppress from Columbia to the Sorbonne are his intellectual heirs. Unless responsible students and professors take steps to prevent the oncoming holocaust, the universities of the free world may be the first institutions to fall victim to Herbert Marcuse's philosophy of terror.

Mr. Feder, a senior at Boston University and State Chairman of Massachusetts Young Americans for Freedom, is a Human Events *summer intern.*

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Attack on Nixon

How Liberals Can Twist Campaign Issues

By HOLMES ALEXANDER

Richard Nixon, unscathed through seven months of campaigning, moves into Miami Beach showing the red badge of two recently suffered wounds.

He caught a bullet that is said to have been fired from behind by liberal members of his own party. And he stopped a piece of shrapnel from the bomb-shell of the Abe Fortas fracas.

Fingerprints indicate that GOP Senators Javits (N.Y.) and Percy (Ill.) and congressional candidate James Farmer, one-time director of the Congress of Racial Equality, pulled a trigger against Nixon when they came up with the elaborate plan called the Community Self-Determinaton Act of 1968. It is a complicated revision of Nixon's own program for "black capitalism." It contemplates development banks in urban and rural slums, the bank-stock owned by shareholders who either subscribe $5 apiece or the equivalent in personal labor, known as "sweat equity."

This is the essence of Nixon's proposal in his radio speech titled "Bridges to Human Dignity," but it does not stop where Nixon stopped. Nixon intended "black capitalism" as an eventual substitute for federal paternalism. CORE economists, abetted by Javits and Percy, and joined

New York Sen. Jacob Javits and fellow liberal Republicans Charles Percy and James Farmer would make "black capitalism" another federal program.

by opportunistic Democrats and unwary Republicans, want to superimpose their plan on top of all existing and forthcoming anti-poverty structures.

Nixon, while not for instant abolition of federal aid to the poor, was trying to move away from it. He was trying to make his plan an alternative to the "Great Society." But Community Self-Determination asks $2 billion in federal "seed money," and it has become so bipartisan that Nixon stands to lose any personal credit for originating the idea.

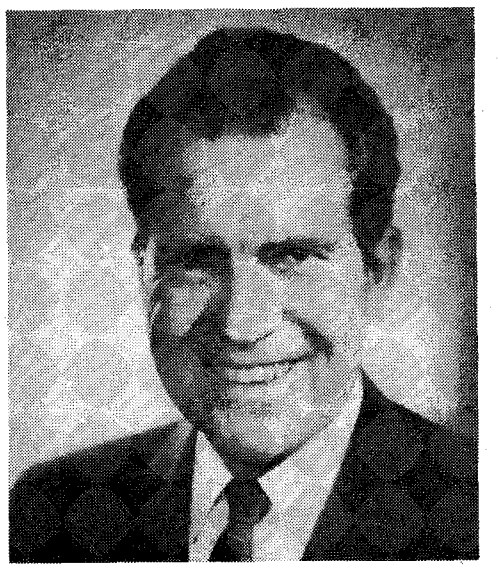
James Farmer, a congressional candidate in New York City with dual nomination by the Republicans and the Liberal party, is avowedly anti-Nixon and a self-styled Negro "constructive militant." The 26 Senate co-sponsors, a totally illogical mix of liberals and conservatives, completely nullify what was once a Nixon copyright on a free enterprise instrument for liberating the poor. Nixon may try to smile off the bullet in his back, but one of his most candid supporters calls what Javits and Percy have done "an outrage."

The burst of shrapnel from the explosive Fortas nomination has also drawn some Nixon blood. No matter what he may now say or leave unsaid, Nixon has been so critical of the Supreme Court that it's assumed he would use the presidential appointive powers to make changes there.

This puts him squarely on the side of Sen. Griffin and the 18 other Republicans, along with several Southern Democrats, who have blocked the Fortas confirmation. But it also opens Nixon to charges of conniving in partisan politics with regard to the Judiciary. The Ripon Society of renegade Republicans has added ugly insinuations of anti-Semitism. It has even hinted that Nixon might be promising George Wallace some say-so about the naming of a future chief justice. None of the allegations has the color of truth, but Nixon is hurting from them just the same.

The wounds are honorable ones in that Nixon could not have avoided some blood-letting except by hiding. Last April he told the American Society of Newspaper Editors here in Washington that he did not expect a majority of the Negro vote and would not seek it by impossible promises. In contrast to Gov. Rockefeller, who also addressed the ASNE, Nixon proposed that the government help Negro slum-dwellers to become "owners" and "entrepreneurs" instead of beggars and threateners. It is bad luck that this good idea has been plagiarized and muddled.

Nixon has blamed the Supreme Court for springing confessed and convicted criminals, but this is a long way from the low thoughts he's being accused of. It's bad luck that he should catch the side-blast from President Johnson's ill-considered nomination of Justice Fortas.



Former Vice President Nixon is now seeing his ideas distorted by liberal GOP lawmakers, the Ripon Society and Negro militants.

Nixon's wounds, painfully received on the eve of the GOP convention, are not crippling by any means. His followers regard them as the insignia of a certified political warrior.

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RACES of the WEEK

This is another installment of our regular pre-election feature, "Races of the Week." Each week until November, **Human Events** will cover as many key election contests as space permits.

Georgia's 5th District

Thompson vs. Weltner

On Oct. 3, 1966, Rep. Charles Weltner (D.-Ga.) called in the press and announced that as a matter of principle he was withdrawing as a candidate for re-election. Like all Democratic nominees in Georgia, Weltner had signed a loyalty oath to support the entire party ticket.

But the gubernatorial nomination of Lester Maddox ("the very symbol of violence and oppression") made this impossible, Weltner said as TV cameras whirled.

"While I cannot violate my oath, neither can I violate my principles," he said. "I cannot compromise with hate. I cannot support Lester Maddox. I am withdrawing as the Democratic nominee for the House of Representatives."

From coast to coast Weltner was lionized for this courage. "It's a tragedy," said a liberal congressman. "We may have to wait another 50 years before we get another Charlie Weltner."

"A candidate of conscience," gushed the New York *Times*, ignoring Weltner's statement two days earlier that, yes, he would support Maddox. The fact of the matter is that Weltner faced almost certain defeat had he stayed in the race. Negro voters were likely to boycott the general election and Weltner desperately needed their votes. (Two years earlier he had lost 72 of the district's 74 "white" precincts while carrying the Negro precincts 15 to 1.)

Cynics predicted that Weltner would build an image of principled self-sacrifice and return to the political wars two years later when his chances were better. And, surprise of surprises, that is precisely what he is doing.

For more than a year Weltner has campaigned full-time against Republican incumbent Fletcher Thompson. With Thompson on the job in Washington, Weltner has met thousands of voters, spelling out his philosophy of "Southern realism" (i.e., liberalism).

FLETCHER THOMPSON

Thompson is returning to the district at every opportunity (42 times in 1967 alone) to defend his record and spell out his differences with Weltner. "He supported open housing; I opposed it. He supported foreign aid; I opposed it. He supported repeated increases in the federal debt ceiling; I opposed them."

During his two terms in Washington, Weltner established a consistently liberal voting record. He gave the Administration loyal support on such controversial issues as rent subsidies, the "War on Poverty" and aid to education, winning a paltry 22 per cent rating from the conservative Americans for Constitutional Action.

Thompson, in contrast, is a staunch conservative, with an ACA rating of 82. A tireless campaigner who captured 60.1 per cent of the vote two years ago, Thompson works 15 to 18 hours a day serving his constituents.

"It will be close," he says of the upcoming campaign. "We're running just as hard as they are. The stakes are high." (Thompson for Congress Committee: P.O. Box 1535, Atlanta, Ga. 30303.)

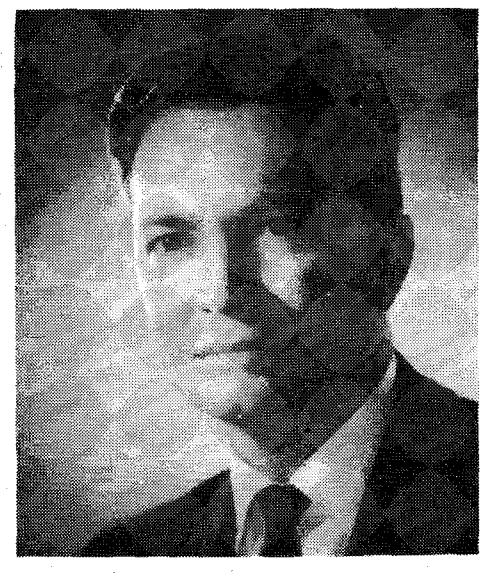
Indiana's 11th District

Hill vs. Jacobs

Four years ago Andy Jacobs Jr. parlayed a familiar name (his father had earlier served in Congress) and the LBJ landslide into a narrow victory in Indiana's 11th Congressional District. Five months later the Democratic-controlled legislature redrew the district lines and Jacob's marginal district had suddenly become "safe" Democratic.

Re-elected in 1966 with 55.7 per cent of the vote, the youthful lawmaker seemed assured of a long career in Washington. Then, on Feb. 9, 1967, a three-judge federal panel ruled the Democrats' redistricting unconstitutional and ordered the legislature to adopt a new plan.

When the legislature refused, the judges redistricted the state themselves and Andy Jacobs found himself in deep political trouble. The 11th district was again marginal, with the Democrats holding a 1966 edge of only 50.9 to 49.1. Jacobs' political future was anything but certain.



W. W. HILL

State Sen. W. W. Hill Jr., Jacobs' GOP opponent, is waging a spirited campaign, denouncing him for knee-jerk support of Administration programs from rent subsidies to public power to the scandal-plagued "War on Poverty." (The non-partisan *Congressional Quarterly* reports that Jacobs has opposed the Administration only 6 per cent of the time since coming to Washington.)

Citing rollcall after rollcall, Hill notes that Jacobs has voted to increase his own salary, to permit foreign aid to nations trading with North Viet Nam, and for "indiscriminate federal spending."

A former professor, Hill is especially critical of Jacobs' "nay" vote on a proposal to cut off federal scholarships to students who "riot, seize buildings and create turmoil on the nation's campuses." The Indianapolis Democrat was one of only 85 members who opposed that bill.

The GOP nominee is touring the 11th District (which includes most of Indianapolis and three suburban townships) in an elaborate mobile home. The giant trailer has complete facilities for a dozen campaign aides and will expect to visit each of the district's 370 precincts several times by election day.

Hill tells voters that the cost of living is advancing at 4 per cent a year and that the cost of building and financing a new home has increased by one-fourth in the past three years. "You can't afford to live under the Democrats," he says, hammering away at Jacobs' support of federal programs that fan the flames of inflation. (Hill for Congress Committee: 144 North Delaware St., Indianapolis, Ind. 46204.)

Florida's 9th District

Rust vs. Rogers

Florida's 9th Congressional District is one of the most Republican in all of Dixie. Eisenhower, Nixon and Goldwater carried it with ease. Two years ago gubernatorial nominee Claude Kirk racked up a landslide victory and GOP candidates for county and legislative office long ago established their dominance.

Nevertheless, the district is represented in Washington by a Democrat, veteran Paul Rogers of West Palm Beach. First elected 13 years ago in a special election, Rogers has been re-elected six times since and has constructed a generally conservative image.

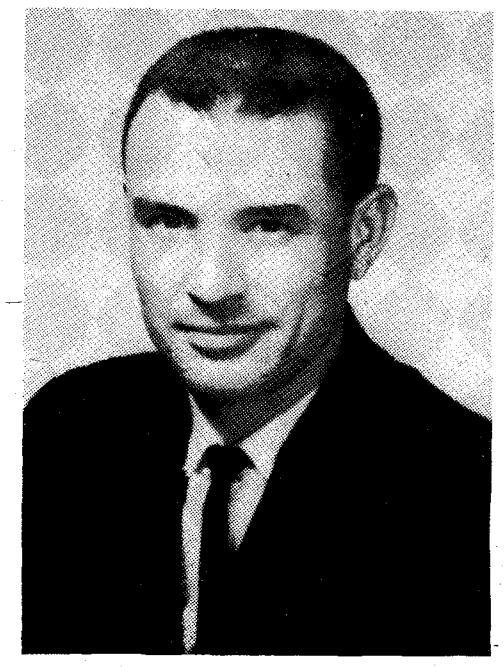
Rogers, who was re-elected without opposition two years ago, now faces a major challenge from Republican State Rep. Robert Rust, an articulate young conservative who is given an excellent chance of victory. Rust admits that Rogers votes with House conservatives more often than not. But the differences, he says, are clear:

"I supported Barry Goldwater; Paul Rogers opposed him. I will back Richard Nixon; Paul Rogers will not. I will support a conservative [Gerald Ford] for Speaker of the House; Paul Rogers will not."

Rust concedes that Rogers' ACA rating (63) is "high for a Democrat." But, he says, it is "thirty points below that recorded by our Republican congressmen, Ed Gurney, Bill Cramer and J. Herbert Burke." Rust also points to a 1966 ACA study that singled out Rogers as one of 17 House members who "voted on both sides of the fence" on major issues to fool their constituents.

Rogers and two other Democrats were singled out for opposing a recommital motion on the Administration's housing bill, then voting against passage. Accusing the three of "double-dealing," ACA said that if they had been consistent, they would have supported recommittal and, quite possibly, killed the whole bill. The recommittal move failed 208 to 202 and the bill subsequently passed the House.

Records of the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education note that while Rogers opposed repeal of 14b (the right-to-work section of Taft Hartley) two days earlier, he shouted "aye" to bring the repeal motion out of the House Rules Committee and to the floor for a vote.



ROBERT RUST

Rust, a leader of the 1964 "Draft Goldwater" drive, has cited as his major issues the "no-win war" in Viet Nam, rising lawlessness, and the soaring cost of living.

A lieutenant colonel in the Marine Corps Reserves, Rust has made Administration support of the Communist bloc a major issue. "The Congress," he says, "should take immediate action to halt all aid, directly or indirectly, to all Communist nations."

As a member of the Florida Legislature, Rust has seen more than a dozen of his bills enacted into law, including the stiff anti-riot law enacted in 1967. He is also the author of legislation setting up a Florida Bureau of Law Enforcement and cracking down on illicit LSD trafficking.

A former assistant U.S. attorney, Rust holds a Secret Service citation for helping thwart an assassination plan against President John F. Kennedy. He is a proved vote getter running in a district that was made far more Republican in recent redistricting. An estimated 18,000 Republicans have been added to the district and Rogers is running scared. (Rust for Congress Committee: 132 Royal Palm Way, Palm Beach, Fla. 33482.)

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Sen. Fannin Wins Fight Against 'Opportunities Enforcement Act'

By WILLARD EDWARDS

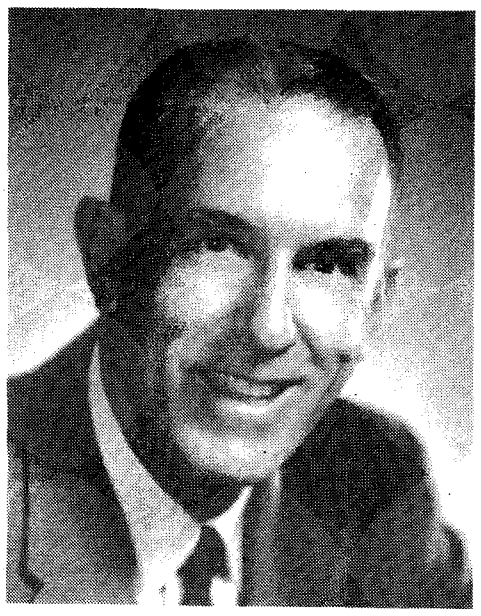
A legislative monstrosity, giving inordinate power to a government commission, has been laid to rest, gone beyond recall at this session of Congress.

When this bill, known as the Equal Opportunities Enforcement Act, was reported by the Senate Labor Committee last May 8, its swift passage seemed assured. It bore the indorsement of the President, several Cabinet members, and powerful lobbying organizations.

When the Senate majority leader, Mike Mansfield (D.-Mont.), confessed two months later to the futility of bringing it up for a vote, Democrats and Republicans in the Senate cloakroom gave voice to a now-familiar comment:

"Fannin has stopped another one."

Sen. Paul J. Fannin (R.-Ariz.) was



While Sen. Fannin has not received the publicity that some of his colleagues have, he has been behind many constructive measures.

virtually alone when he began a quiet drive against the measure soon after it emerged from committee by a 13-to-2 vote. He started a campaign of education among members of both parties, outlining the grave dangers he saw in the bill for American workers, unions and businessmen. So many senators joined his cause that the possibility of a protracted floor fight alarmed the leadership, and Mansfield reluctantly withdrew it from consideration.

Fannin's exploits rarely reach the public. He seeks no publicity, permits others to grab the headlines for achievements due largely to his labors. But he is known in the inner circles of the Senate as the member mainly responsible for maneuvers which have blocked the Johnson Administration on several major issues.

In the current Republican effort to block a vote on the nomination of Abe Fortas as chief justice, for example, Sen. Robert P. Griffin (Mich.) is the heralded leader.

He deserves all the recognition he is getting, but it was Fannin who, after a talk with Sen. George Murphy (R.-Calif.), conceived the idea of a joint Republican statement of opposition. Fannin personally secured the signature of 15 of the 19 senators, including Griffin, who agreed to filibuster, if necessary, against what they conceived to be political maneuvering to deny a new President the opportunity to fill vacancies on the high court.

In an even more celebrated Senate fight back in 1965 and 1966, Sen. Dirksen (R.-Ill.), the minority leader, was hailed as the hero of two successful filibusters against repeal of section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act, known as the right-to-work law. None could deny him full credit but when the battle was over, Reed Larson, executive vice president of the National Right-to-Work Committee, remarked:

"Sen. Fannin was in that fight long before anyone else, almost alone. No senator worked harder or did more to put together the support which made the filibusters successful."

It was Fannin's idea last month to rebuke Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York for his intemperate attacks on fellow Republicans. He lined up 11 Republican senators to sign a telegram accusing Rockefeller of tactics helpful only to Democrats. Press reports passed over Fannin's name to dwell on more publicized signers.

The former governor of Arizona is wholly unperturbed when others thus receive credit for his achievements. He is the first to admit that he does not possess the glamour or oratorical ability of some of his associates. In only four years of Senate service, however, he has gained a reputation for persistence and persuasion in those off-the-floor encounters where most of the Senate's business is transacted.

In his one-man campaign against the Equal Opportunities Enforcement bill, he gave a typical display of his talents. The measure would have given vast powers to a federal commission to compel compliance with its findings of racial discrimination in employment.

Congress had rejected such powers for the agency when it was created. Noted liberals, including the then Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D.-Minn.), now vice president and potential presidential nominee, had agreed that informal methods of conference, conciliation and persuasion could best solve the problem of discrimination in employment.

The impatient agency, however, demanded great authority—including the right to decree that one worker should be promoted or preferred over another solely because of race, disregarding job ability tests and promotional and seniority systems. The proposed law would have combined in the commission the powers of prosecutor, enforcer and judge.

Buttonholing senators in both parties at every opportunity and sending them memoranda, Fannin spread his message: "This is a bad bill. It should be killed." In the end, the Democratic leadership did not dare to submit it to floor debate.

(1968, Chicago Tribune-N.Y. News Syndicate)

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Pay TV Deserves a Chance

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

The late Isabel Paterson, one of the truest friends that free enterprise ever had, once remarked sourly that she would gladly see some capitalists hang if it weren't for the probability that in a general atmosphere of terror she would be executed along with them. She was thinking, of course, of those nominal free enterprisers who talk a great line about the menace of socialism, creeping or otherwise, and then go running to Washington, D.C., for special favors and special protection against their competitors.

Since the television wave lengths are limited in number, the federal government has to regulate the allocation of the over-the-air routes just to prevent chaos. But, under any valid theory of

Chairman Harley Staggers' House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee might close the door on pay TV for another year.

free enterprise, what earthly concern is it of the government to tell a station owner or a broadcasting company how his business should be financed?

Fraudulent deals and cheating on the Security Exchange rules are, of course, impermissible under the law, but beyond that a man should feel free to sell his TV programs to the public as he chooses, whether this means accepting commercial sponsors or turning to subscription-TV.

For 20 years, however, the advocates of subscription-TV have fought in vain for a fair national trial of subscription television. The big theatre owners and the big TV networks, who would be the first to object to "nationalization" of their properties, have fought tooth and nail against the idea of fair competition in TV program financing.

Simple fear of freedom may explain it, or maybe it is just laziness compounded by cupidity. As the *Wall Street Journal*, surely no enemy of capitalism, says, "Their theory is that it's silly to risk knocking heads with a competitor if you can get the government to outlaw him." The *Wall Street Journal* accepts that "by collecting millions of dollars from subscribers the new service would outbid the networks for the right to televise major sports events, movies and anything else the public likes about current free programing."

But in addition to the fear motif the cupidity and laziness motifs must be there, too. In an effort to give pay-TV a chance and yet appease its enemies, the Federal Communications Commission proposed giving the subscription idea a trial on a national scale under some pretty strict limitations. The pay-TV licensee would not be permitted in any given area to charge for sports events that had hitherto been carried on free TV. He would not be allowed to charge a subscription rate for old movies. And he would be authorized to sell his TV program fare only in places where there were at least four free-TV competitors.

The proposed limitations would protect the big TV companies against competition where they might prove to be most vulnerable. But even this hasn't been enough to satisfy them. As this column is being written, the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, chaired by Rep. Harley Staggers of West Virginia, is debating the idea of enacting a resolution that would delay a national trial of subscription-TV for another year.

Whether the resolution succeeds or fails, the whole business will continue to be a scandal of sorts. For if it takes two decades to get a decision out of Congress to support the most elementary justice under free enterprise, it should be an obvious reminder to the world that the United States is in no position to tell the cartel-minded West Europeans or the Socialist Scandinavians that "our system is the best."

If this country is going to protect its "image" before the world, it needs some free enterprisers who are willing to practice what they preach. If capitalists once accept the idea that government is to be accorded the right to tell a man how he should raise the honest funds needed to finance a business, the whole idea of free enterprise is brought into contempt. You can't have it both ways.

Pay-TV may very well fail in any big test in the national marketplace. But it will be good to let members of the public make the decision, for as consumers that is their right.

(Copyright 1968, King Features Synd.)

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Russian Sub 'Rammer'?

From the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*

A report that a United States nuclear submarine was damaged recently in an underwater collision with a Russian sub gives credence to the belief that the missing *Scorpion* might have met its fate in a similar encounter.

Quoting a "reliable source," the Norfolk *Ledger-Star* said an American sub, as yet not identified, spent two months undergoing repairs at Rota, Spain.

It was believed damaged in what amounts to an underwater game of "chicken." Russian submarines repeatedly have followed our Polaris submarines after they leave European ports. The United States subs have their systems of 16 missiles set on targets in Russia.

The Soviet subs are reported to chart a collision course with the United States submarines with the intent of forcing them off course and presumably forcing them to readjust their missile settings. It appears they also may be trying to compel them to abandon their missions entirely.

The nature of the underwater skirmishing would make it possible for the Russians to sink a great many submarines if it has developed a special type of sub that can ram other subs and still manage to survive. If the ramming takes place at great depth and the sub it hits goes to the bottom, it would be impossible to prove anything because present rescue equipment can't rescue crewmen when a vessel is in more than 600 feet of water.

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Assassination Files

By PAUL SCOTT

One of the most important decisions that President Johnson will make before leaving office next January concerns possible publication of sealed documents from the Warren Commission inquiry of the assassination of President Kennedy.

At least 20 per cent of the commission's files remain locked in the National Archives, where the full record of the Kennedy assassination probe is filed.

A list of more than 250 of the sealed documents was prepared recently by attorneys of the Justice Department for further re-examination to determine if their publication should be recommended to the President.

Most intriguing are reports of the Central Intelligence Agency dealing with the private reaction of high Cuban officials to the assassination.

Another deals with a top secret CIA memorandum from Richard Helms (now CIA director) to J. Lee Rankin, chief counsel of the Warren Commission. It is listed under the heading: "Report of conversations between Cuban President and Cuban Ambassador."

Also still under seal is a CIA memorandum from Helms to the commission which carries the following notation: "Discussions between Soviet Premier Khrushchev and Drew Pearson re Lee Harvey Oswald." Neither Helms nor Pearson ever commented publicly on this memorandum or its content.

Still unpublished among the many FBI reports in the Archives is the agency's interview with Yuri Nosenko, a high-ranking member of the KGB, the Soviet secret police, who defected to the U.S. 10 weeks after the assassination of President Kennedy.

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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

Fortas Role in Miranda Case

By REP. ALBERT WATSON (R.-S.C.)

Last year I introduced an amendment to the Constitution relative to the power of federal courts to review convictions in criminal actions. This amendment was designed to offset the effects of the Supreme Court's ruling in *Miranda* against Arizona, which virtually stripped law enforcement officers from any advantage that they might have in dealing with the criminal through immediate interrogation.

Fortunately the objective of this proposal was contained in the omnibus crime control bill which was recently signed into law by the President. Inclusion of a provision in the bill to modify court decisions in the area of voluntary confessions should have a tremendous impact upon the court.

I thought the *Miranda* decision particularly noteworthy, not only because it set a bad legal precedent or that it was decided by a 5-to-4 vote, but that it gave us one of the first opportunities to observe Justice Abe Fortas in action. His vote with the majority came as no surprise, because Abe Fortas has been defending liberal causes all his life. Like the other "activists" on the court, Fortas seems to enjoy turning away from accepted principles of constitutional law.

But, even in the court's vociferous desire to make the first amendment a vehicle for anarchy, the *Miranda* decision just bordered upon the ridiculous. I had always thought that the law was designed to protect the innocent. However, the *Miranda* decision shifts the emphasis of protection to the criminal.

As a result of the *Miranda* decision, and others equally as dangerous, the American people are taking a long, hard look at the Supreme Court. They do not like what they see. They see a court which seems to be saying "no prayers in our schools, but plenty of criminals on our streets." They see a court which allows the pornography racket to rake in millions of dollars each year. They see a court which gives its blessing to any Communist who wants to teach in our public school system or who decides to work in a defense installation. The list is practically endless, but perhaps it is best summed up by a recent national poll in which an overwhelming majority of those polled believe that the Supreme Court has gone too far in its liberal interpretations.

The battle over the appointment of Abe Fortas to be chief justice is based on these issues. The drama presently taking place in the other body can best be described as being in the interest of the American people and the American legal system. I wholeheartedly endorse the courageous efforts by a group of our Senate colleagues of both parties to deny confirmation to Justice Fortas. I commend their wisdom, foresight, and devotion to the Constitution.

House Bars Gov't Aid to Lawless Students

Following is the 259-to-147 rollcall vote by which the House of Representatives on July 25 approved an amendment to the Administration's $5-billion aid to education bill which would deny federal funds to students whose actions were "of a serious nature and contributed to the disruption of the administration" of college operations. The move was proposed by Rep. William J. Scherle (R.-Iowa); the entire bill later passed on a 389-to-15 vote.

DEMOCRATS FOR: 126

Abbitt, Abernethy, Addabbo, Albert, Andrews (Ala.), Ashmore, Aspinall, Baring, Bennett, Bevill, Boggs, Brinkley, Brooks, Burleson, Cabell, Casey, Clark, Colmer, Davis (Ga.), de la Garza, Delaney, Dorn, Dowdy, Downing, Edmondson, Edwards (La.), Fallon, Fascell, Feighan, Fisher, Flynt, Fountain, Fulton (Tenn.), Fuqua, Gathings, Gettys, Giaimo, Gibbons, Gray, Griffin, Hagan, Haley, Hamilton, Hanley, Hays, Henderson, Hicks, Holifield, Hull, Ichord, Jarman, Johnson (Calif.), Jones (Ala.), Jones (Mo.), Jones (N.C.), Kazen, Kee, Kelly, Kornegay, Kyros, Landrum, Lennon, McFall, McMillan, Mahon, Marsh, Meeds, Miller (Calif.), Mills, Monagan, Montgomery, Morris (N.M.), Natcher, Nedzi, Nichols, O'Neal (Ga.), Ottinger, Passman, Pickle, Pike, Poage, Pryor, Pucinski, Purcell, Randall, Rarick, Rivers, Roberts, Rogers (Colo.), Rogers (Fla.), Rooney (Pa.), Rostenkowski, St Germain, Satterfield, Selden, Shipley, Sikes, Sisk, Slack, Smith (Iowa), Staggers, Steed, Stephens, Stratton, Stubblefield, Stuckey, Sullivan, Taylor, Teague (Tex.), Tiernan, Tuck, Tunney, Van Deerlin, Vanik, Vigorito, Waggonner, Walker, Watts, White, Whitener, Whitten, Willis, Wilson, Charles, Wright, Young, Zablocki

REPUBLICANS FOR: 133

Adair, Anderson (Ill.), Ashbrook, Ayres, Bates, Battin, Belcher, Berry, Betts, Blackburn, Bolton, Bow, Bray, Brock, Broomfield, Brotzman, Brown (Mich.), Brown (Ohio), Broyhill (N.C.), Broyhill (Va.), Buchanan, Burke (Fla.), Burton (Utah), Bush, Byrnes (Wis.), Carter, Cederberg, Chamberlain, Clancy, Clausen, Don, Clawson, Del, Collier, Corbett, Cowger, Cramer, Davis (Wis.), Denney, Derwinski, Devine, Dickinson, Duncan, Edwards (Ala.), Erlenborn, Eshleman, Findley, Ford, Gerald, Fulton (Pa.), Gardner, Goodling, Gross, Grover, Gubser, Gurney, Hall, Halleck, Hammerschmidt, Hansen (Idaho), Harrison, Harsha, Harvey, Hosmer, Hunt, Hutchinson, Johnson (Pa.), Jonas, Keith, King (N.Y.), Kleppe, Kuykendall, Kyl, Laird, Langen, Latta, Lipscomb, Lloyd, Lukens, McClory, McClure, McCulloch, McDonald (Mich.), MacGregor, Martin, Mathias (Calif.), May, Mayne, Meskill, Michel, Miller (Ohio), Mize, Myers, Nelsen, O'Konski, Pelly, Pettis, Pirnie, Poff, Pollock, Price (Tex.), Quillen, Reid (Ill.), Reinecke, Rhodes (Ariz.), Riegle, Roth, Roudebush, Sandman, Saylor, Schadeberg, Scherle, Schneebeli, Scott, Shriver, Skubitz, Smith (Calif.), Smith (Okla.), Springer, Stanton, Steiger (Ariz.), Teague (Calif.), Thompson (Ga.), Thomson (Wis.), Utt, Vander Jagt, Watkins, Watson, Whalley, Williams (Pa.), Wilson, Bob, Winn, Wylie, Wyman, Zion, Zwach

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: 103

Adams, Annunzio, Ashley, Barrett, Bingham, Blatnik, Boland, Bolling, Brademas, Brasco, Brown (Calif.), Burke (Mass.), Burton (Calif.), Byrne (Pa.), Carey, Celler, Cohelan, Conyers, Corman, Culver, Daddario, Daniels, Dawson, Dent, Diggs, Dingell, Donohue, Dow, Dulski, Eckhardt, Edwards (Calif.), Eilberg, Evans (Colo.), Farbstein, Flood, Foley, Ford, William, Fraser, Friedel, Garmatz, Gilbert, Gonzalez, Green (Ore.), Green (Pa.), Griffiths, Hanna, Hansen (Wash.), Hathaway, Hechler (W. Va.), Helstoski, Howard, Hungate, Irwin, Jacobs, Joelson, Karth, Kastenmeier, Kluczynski, Leggett, Long (Md.), McCarthy, Macdonald (Mass.), Machen, Madden, Matsunaga, Minish, Mink, Moorhead, Morgan, Moss, Murphy (Ill.), Murphy (N.Y.), Nix, O'Hara (Ill.), O'Hara (Mich.), Olsen, O'Neill (Mass.), Patman, Patten, Pepper, Perkins, Philbin, Podell, Price (Ill.), Rees, Resnick, Reuss, Rodino, Ronan, Rooney (N.Y.), Rosenthal, Roush, Roybal, Ryan, St. Onge, Scheuer, Tenzer, Thompson (N.J.), Udall, Ullman, Waldie, Wolff, Yates

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: 44

Andrews (N.D.), Bell, Biester, Cahill, Cleveland, Conable, Conte, Curtis, Dellenback, Dwyer, Esch, Frelinghuysen, Goodell, Gude, Halpern, Heckler (Mass.), Horton, Kupferman, McDade, McEwen, Mailliard, Mathias (Md.), Minshall, Morse (Mass.), Morton, Mosher, Quie, Railsback, Reid (N.Y.), Reifel, Robison, Rumsfeld, Ruppe, Schweiker, Schwengel, Smith (N.Y.), Stafford, Steiger (Wis.), Taft, Whalen, Widnall, Wiggins, Wyatt, Wydler

NOT VOTING: 26

Legislative Boxscore

The following is a round-up of items of particular interest to Human Events readers:

• The Senate has passed and sent to conference HR 17023, the 1969 appropriations bill for 19 agencies and the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). The HUD appropriation included the full $1 billion which the Administration requested for its **model cities program;** of this amount, $500 million is to be used for urban renewal grants. The appropriation for **rent supplements** was raised from the House level of $40 million to $65 million, to finance an estimated 72,000 housing units. Among the other HUD appropriations was $9 million to finance administration of the "open housing" section of the 1968 Civil Rights Act.

• The House Rules Committee has deferred action on HR 15626, the **Defense Facilities and Industrial Security Act,** which would authorize a personnel screening program for sensitive defense facilities. The bill, already reported by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, also places new prohibitions on hiring members of "Communist action movements" in defense industries. The legislation is designed to replace defense security bills struck down recently by the Supreme Court. The Rules Committee action is expected to preclude passage of HR 15626 this session.

• The House Ways and Means Committee has concluded hearings on the Administration's **Trade Expansion Act of 1968** (HR 17551). The bill provides a two-year extension of presidential tariff negotiating powers and allows federal compensation of companies affected by imports. The time shortage is expected to prevent passage this session.

• The Senate version of HR 16729, which provides $1 billion in **aid to needy college students,** is still awaiting action by the full Labor and Public Welfare Committee. The Education subcommittee reported the bill without the House-approved amendment preventing aid to students who refuse to obey "a lawful regulation or order" of their college if school officials agree that the refusal contributed to the "disruption of university or college administration" (see rollcall at left). The Senate subcommittee also dropped another House-approved amendment which cuts off funds to persons convicted in any court of inciting or participating in a riot. If these amendments are not added in the full committee or on the Senate floor, conservatives will lobby for their retention in conference.

• By a vote of 305 to 118, the House passed and sent to the Senate a **gun control bill** (HR 17735) banning mail order and most out-of-state purchases of rifles and shotguns and prohibiting the interstate shipment of handgun ammunition. (Mail order sales of handguns had already been outlawed in the crime bill.) Prior to passage, four important amendments to the bill were adopted over the opposition of tight gun control advocates. They included provisions that would:

(1) Delete all federal restrictions on the sale of ammunition for rifles and shotguns;

(2) Allow the National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice to continue to furnish arms and ammunition to marksmanship clubs associated with the National Rifle Association;

(3) Permit collectors to engage in interstate trade with other collectors after purchase of a $10 license; and

(4) Allow a person to purchase a gun in another state after signing an affidavit that his gun had been lost, stolen or broken in that state. The Senate Judiciary Committee has approved a similar gun control bill which will be voted on in September after the convention recess. The Administration's proposal to register all firearms, defeated in the House, is unlikely to be added in the Senate.

• By a 227-to-172 rollcall vote, the House has approved an **extension of the food stamp program** for the needy through fiscal 1972, but it declined to place any limit on the amount that could be spent. The action came in response to an Administration-backed amendment raising the current food stamp appropriation from $225 million to $245 million for next year. Congress is now faced with placing a ceiling on the program's spending when it reconvenes in September.

• The future of the government's **basic farm program** is extremely cloudy. After rejecting a series of conservative proposals for shorter-term extensions, the Senate voted last week to extend the Administration's price support and commodity control program for four years. The House, however, approved only a one-year extension and tacked on a provision limiting federal farm subsidies to $20,000. The bill must now go to conference, where a bitter liberal-conservative showdown is expected. If the issue cannot be resolved, next year's new Administration must devise a whole new farm program before the present one expires at the end of 1969.

• By a vote of 46 to 28, the Senate passed the **Foreign Aid Authorization Bill** (HR 15263) calling for a record low expenditure of $1.9 billion, nearly $1 billion less than the Administration's request and $48 million less than the House authorization. Senate conservatives also amended the bill to bar all aid to Communist countries until the crew of the captured **Pueblo** is released. The bill now goes to conference to iron out House-Senate differences.

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When Hubert was a little boy he loved to play Napoleon

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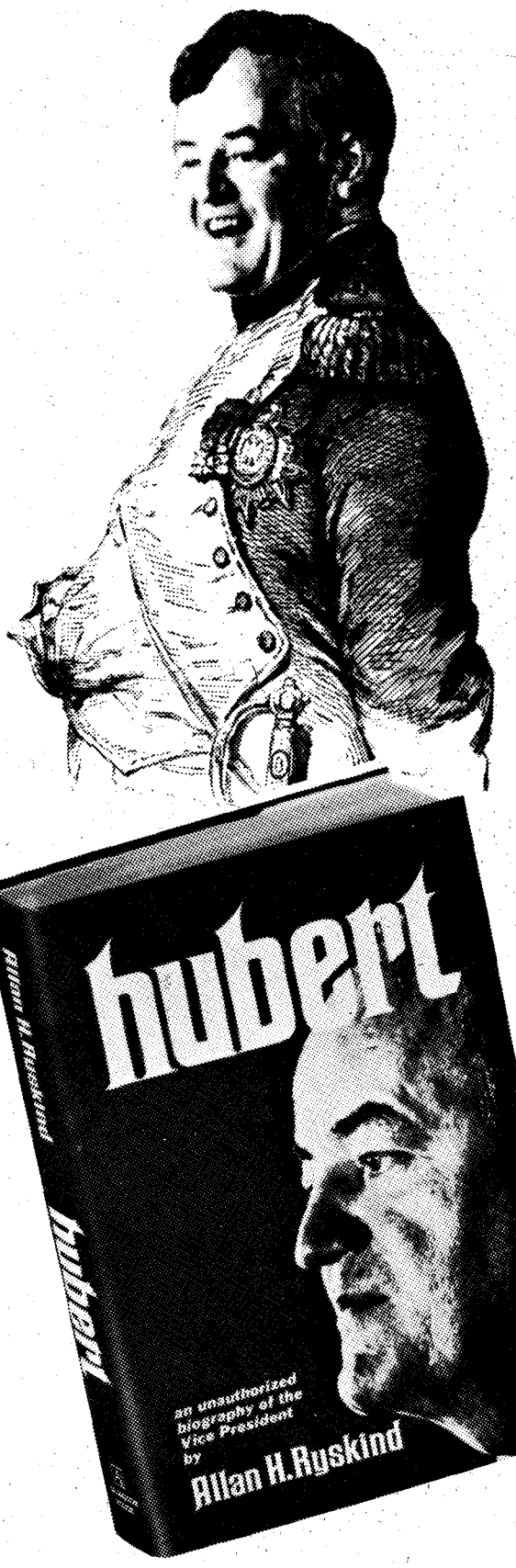

HUBERT

An Unauthorized Biography of the Vice President by Allan H. Ryskind

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HIS FELLOW SENATORS called him Gabby, Flannelmouth, Whippersnapper, Pipsqueak, even harsher names.

Lyndon, at least until yesterday, treated him like a cowhand down at the ranch. "Hubert, did I hear you belch?" so goes one of the stories floating around Washington. "No, Mr. President. Was I supposed to?"

Now he is being hailed, by ADA types with tired blood, as a moderate. Yet Norman Thomas once pointed to him as "the type of Democrat I like and one who would be a Socialist if he got to England."

Where lies the real Hubert? *Is* there a real Hubert? Allan Ryskind has peeked into the closets where the skeletons are kept, and here's just a sample of what he's found:

- **Hubert's early alliance with Eugene McCarthy.**
- **The Evangelist of the Welfare State. Hubert urges price control, wage control, controls over medicine and the arts, a Soviet-style Seven-Year Plan for the farmers, a federal crusade against "noxious weeds," a federal "house gardening program to assist needy persons," and — we kid you not — a $50,000 government loan to boil potatoes.**
- **The disturbing background on Hubert's most infamous remark on race riots: "I've got enough spark left in me to lead a mighty good revolt . . ."**
- **Hubert on Communism abroad: "I would say that we have to keep in mind what Russia wants and needs."**
- **Something for everybody: Hubert's two positions on the Goldwater plan to let parents take tax deductions for education costs. His three positions on civil rights . . . two positions on the oleo tax . . . two positions on price supports . . . three positions on the Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Red China to the U.N. (If you don't like what Hubert is saying, wait a few minutes . . .)**
- ***For businessmen who are telling themselves that Humphrey is a moderate: how he compared the NAM and Communism.***
- **Hubert's subtle anti-Catholic propaganda.**
- **His not-so-subtle anti-Catholic propaganda.**
- **LBJ and Hubert: their similarities — and their differences. Twice when Hubert went to the mat with Lyndon.**
- **Champ of the pork barrel. Hubert, in his first four months as Senator, introduces $22 billion in new spending bills. Humphrey votes on 156 money bills. Score: spending 156, economy 0.**
- **Can Hubert defend America? His frightening views on nuclear testing, the Panama Canal, Vietnam, Guantanamo, Quemoy and Matsu, Castro, Bosch, Holden Roberto, Chiang Kai-shek, the UN, etc., etc.**

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